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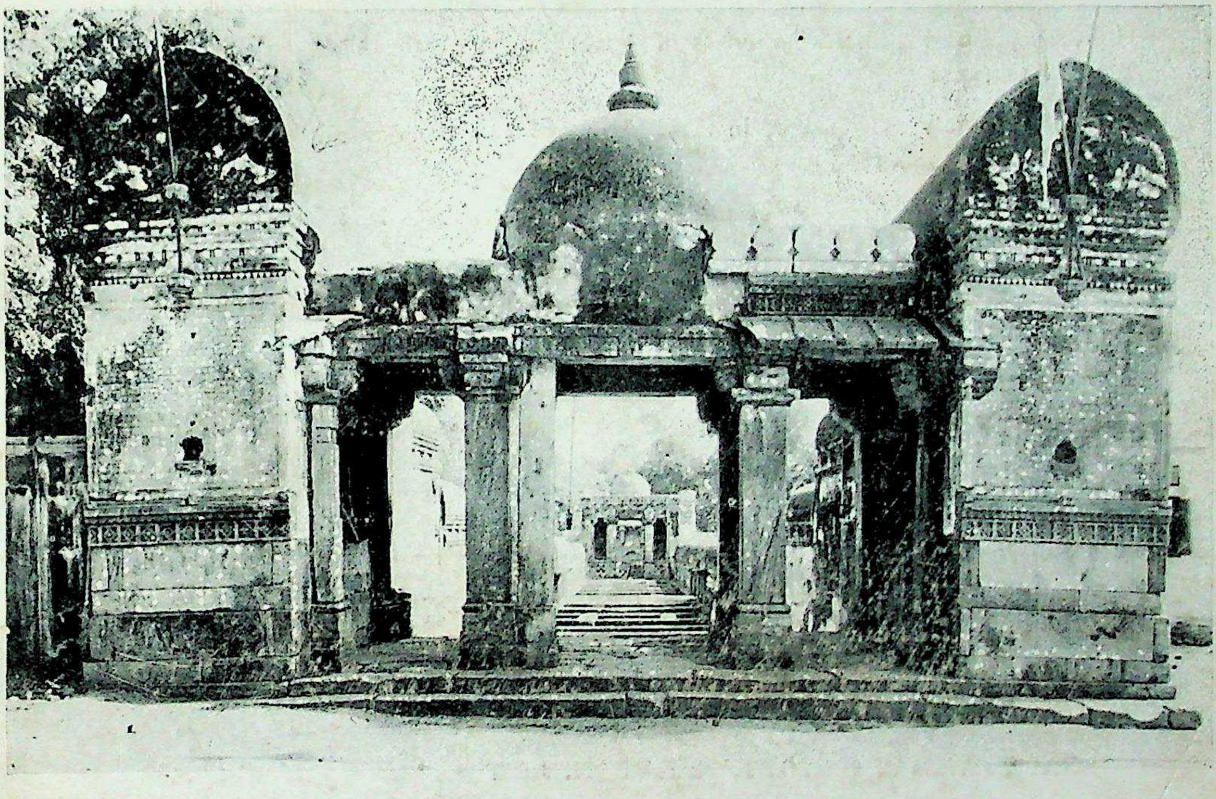

Fig. 1 (Refer to A. K. Singh's Article)

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SOME ASPECTS OF VEDIC STUDIES*

By

PROF. S. G. KANTAWALA†

Respected General President Professor Dandekar Saheb and Friends,

At the very outset I must express my sincerest feelings of hearty thanks to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for the great honour done to me as the President of the Vedic Section of this session.

The responsibility entrusted to me is indeed heavy and the placement may be due to your loving affection for me and my long association witht this august body. I am conscious of my limitations and I feel I am a dwarf, when I think of the brilliant galaxy of the stalwarts who have presided over this prestigious Section in the past, and especially at this session, when Professor Dandekar ji, the world renowned Vedist and Indologist is with us as the General President.

Being aware of my limitations I cast my glance in the past and get emboldened, when I find that there are thirty three savants including my own teacher the late Dr. S. S. Bhawe as my predecessors who are comparable to

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* Presidential Address to the Vedic Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, 34th Session, Visakhapatnam, 5-7 January, 1989.

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the thirty three *devas-trayaś ca triṁśac ca devāḥ*. . . (RV. 8.30.2; cf. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. 3. 9 . . .) with Professor Dandekar ji,–as all-in one,–to inspire and bless. I bow down to them all as *pathikṛts* and accept this honour with a request to you one and all to extend your full cooperation in the successful conduct of this Section.

It is a general practice, a custom, in such addresses to take stock of the work done and in progress in the interval of the immediate past session and the current session, but in the past there have been departures from this trodden path. It is a matter of common knowledge that in these days there is a plethora of publications. There are various media of advertisement, select contents *etc*. and also other media-sources. There are also several seminars and symposia where personal contacts lead to the uptodating of the knowledge and information of the publications, projects on hand *etc*. There is also another aspect of this that one is faced with the non-availability of all the publications during the period under consideration for several reasons and hence it will be unwise to take a survey of the publications, projects on hand and completed and thereby commit a flaw of *avyāptidoṣa*.

" As the oldest Indian, and at the same time the oldest Indo-European literary monument, a prominent place in the history of world-literature is due to the Veda "[1] and " the oldest and most important of all the works of Vedic literature is the Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā, "[2] as you,— one and all, know. Amongst the sources of ancient Indian history and culture literary works have their due place therein[3] and as such the RV has an honourable place amongst the ancient literary sources of ancient Indian history and culture. *En passant* it may be mentioned that " there was a time in the history of Indology, when the entire Indian culture and civilization, generally used to be traced back to a single source viz. the Veda. Modern Indology has sought to re–present the Veda in the proper historical perspective.[4] It is needless to add here that " literature—in the broad sense of the term—being one of the most important products of people's intellectual activity will always remain by far the most essential source of knowledge of a civilization ".[5]

The history of the study of the Vedic literature in modern times by the Westerners is a long one and it may be traced to the year 1805 A.D., when Henry Thomas Colebrooke gave information about the ancient sacred books of Indians in his famous essay : " On the Vedas ": and thereby he became " entitled to the distinction of being the first Western scholar ever to write on the Vedas ".[7] In modern times,—19th and 20th centuries—, even " though in the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century Indian contributions to modern Vedic research were scanty, ... in the last decades Vedic research is in a modernized form winning ground ".[8] It is happy to note that there are numerous publications on Vedic literature and studies dealing with various aspects, *e.g.* mythological, linguistic, social, religious, philosophical, cultural *etc.*, but in all these aspects and approaches one faces the problem of interpretation and it is the interpretation which is a significant point.

Rules of Vedic interpretation are already enunciated by the Indian and Western Vedists. They may be broadly classified into (i) historical and critical method and (ii) traditional method. According to R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner " the Ṛgveda must, above all, be interpreted as a production of the Indian mind, to the right understanding of which the Indian literature of later periods provides the best key ".[10]

It is well-known that one of the traits of Indian culture and thought is dynamism, change and continuity. There is an " uninterrupted, immence and utterly varied literary productions from Ṛgveda onward, which while continually transforming and rejuvenating itself has always been subject to the process of adaptation and assimilation " [11] and in this context a reference to the Purāṇas and Itihāsa (Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata) as tools of interpretation and understanding of the Vedas—not disrespecting the critical and historical method, will not be out of place.[12] It will not be out of place to quote here the famous stanza from the Mahābhārata in this context :

itihāsapurāṇābhyāṁ vedaṁ samupabṛṁhayet /
bibhety alpaśrutād vedo mām ayaṁ prahariṣyati //
(Mahābhārata Cr. Ed. 1.1.204)

This Mahābhāratan dictum stresses the necessity of the study of the Itihāsa and Purāṇas for the interpretation of the Veda. Purāṇas are said to be *sarvavedārthasārāṇi* (*cf.* Nāradīya-Purāṇa 2.24.17, Skanda-Purāṇa Revākhaṇḍa 1.12), *i.e.* the quintessence of the Vedas. Purāṇas are said to explain, expound and elaborate the meaning of the Veda. It is significant to note that in this process not only Vedic ideas are simplified and summarised, but also Vedic stanzas are quoted *ad verbum* or with a paraphrase or with a variation in lections or variations in phrases. Sometimes Vedic themes or legends are taken up and expounded in them (*i.e.* Purāṇas) involving a thematic transplantation and/or cross-fertilisation. Interesting and significant is the phenomenon of the migration of Vedic legends to the Purāṇas as well as their Purāṇic presentation and exegesis.[13] According to Jīvagosvāmin derivationally Purāṇa is said to nourish and supplement the meaning of the Veda [14] and *upabṛṁhaṇa* is explaining the meaning as consented by the Veda *i.e.* as permissible by the Veda.[15]

It is quite well-known that some Vedic *mantras*, myths and legends have migrated to the Itihāsa and Purāṇa-literature. There are some enigmatic hymns as well as a class of hymns in the RV known as the " dialogue-hymns " or the " ākhyāna-hymns " or " ballads ". They throw, sometimes, some important light on them in their explanation or expounding and thereby they play a supplementary, confirmatory and/or explanatory role. It is quite true that the principle of *upabṛṁhaṇa* is a time-honoured principle[16] and hence it is to be utilised judiciously with care and caution.

The point may be illustrated by a few instances in the context of dialogue/ ākhyāna hymns. One of the most interesting " dialogues " / ākhyāna-hymns / mythological ballads is the Yama–Yamī–hymn (RV. 10.10). The famous dialogue occurs also in the Narasiṃha-Purāṇa (= NP), Ch 13. This dialogue in the NP is called *vaidikī kathā* as well as *vedapadārthaniścitam ākhyānam* (NP. 13.41). It is styled as *saṁvāda*, *upākhyāna* and *ākhyāna* also. A study of both these versions, *i.e.* Ṛgvedic and Purāṇic shows that there is a close parallel between them. It is significant to note that some of the arguments in the RV 10.10 are presented either as they are or expanded or altered, while some of them are dropped in the NP. It is interesting to compare here the passionate request of Yamī to Yama in the NP 13. 9-16, 26 with the one in the RV 10.10.3 *cd*, 7, 11 and 12. In RV 10.10.12 *b* it is the person who is called a *pāpá*, whereas in the NP 13.18 the act is called a *mahāpātaka;* thus there is a shift from the doer to the act. It is obvious that one who commits a *pāpa* or *mahāpātaka* is a *pāpa* or a *mahāpātakin*. The NP 13.7: *na te saṁyojayiṣyāmi kāyaṁ kāyena bhāmini* : is paraphrase of the RV 10.10.12 : *ná vā u te tanvā́ tanvàṁ sám papṛcyām.* The NP emphasises the moral and ehical side. Yama emphasises to Yamī all the while that their union would be a *mahāpātaka* and in this context it is significant to note here that according to K. F. Geldner the present hymn is " with a moral point ".[17]

Let us take Paṇi-Saramā hymn (RV 10.108) to illustrate our point. The Ṛgvedic version is a scene from the Vala-myth. The Paṇi-Saramā legend is re-told with innovations and modifications in the later Vedic works, Epics and Purāṇas, especially in the Varāha-Purāṇa (= VarP.) Ch. 16. The VarP. follows the Vedic tradition, when it records that cows were kidnapped and concealed; but it is to be noted that it expunges the details. It follows Yāska and Sāyaṇa, when it uses the epithet *devaśūnī* for Saramā. It follows also the Vedic tradition, when it amplifies the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa phrase : " " *gavāṁ padavīḥ* " " guide of the cows. ", by " *gāvo devaśūnyā rakṣyamāṇāḥ* " and " *rakṣārtham* ". The implicit atmosphere of the battle in the in *ṛc* 5 of the same hymn (*i.e.* RV 10.108.5) for the regainment of the cows and the mention of the sharp weapons find an explicit reference in the VarP. The statement in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa,— " *mā naḥ pravocaḥ* "—, finds the parallel in the Purāṇic version as " *mā bhadre devarājāya gās tv imā vinivedaya* ". It is significant to note that the VarP follows Yāska, when it styles it as an *ākhyāna*.[18]

One may note here how Purāṇas render the Vedic words. In this context the epithet of Aśvins. *viz. padmasrajaḥ* occurring in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 9.3.15 may be mentioned. This is reminiscent or translation of the Ṛgvedic epithet : *puṣkarasrajaḥ*, "wearing lotus-wreaths", of Aśvinā in the RV 10.184.2 and the AV 5.25.3. The Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā 4. 6.2 and the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 4.1.5.1 ff. note that they were not offered a share in the Soma-drink and a sacrifice respectively and that they were offered a share later on. This aspect of their not getting a share in the Soma-drink and in sacrifice and their getting entry therein at a later stage is preserved in a slightly different version when the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa observes that they were excluded from a share in the Soma-drink on account of their being physicians and they were offered or got a share in Soma and sacrifice through the intervention of Cyavana as a reward of his being rejuvenated by them. This tends to show the thematic similarities,—a sort of continuity and change—, between the Vedic legends and their Purāṇic counterparts.

A reference may also be made to the frequent epithets of the Ṛgvedic Aśvinā, *viz. dasrā* and *nāsatyā*, which are employed also to designate the two Aśvinā.[19] It is significant to note that in the Purāṇas the twin Aśvinā are individually known as Dasra and Nāsatya. The later ephithet *i.e. nāsatya* is explained by Yāska as "*nāsikā-prabhavau babhūvatur iti* (Nirukta 6. 13) *i.e.* "nose-born" and this "nose-born" aspect is inherited in the epic and the Purāṇas, *e.g.* the Matsya-Purāṇa narrates a legend about their birth from the nostrils.[20]

At this juncture it will not be out of place to refer to another aspect of the connections of the ancillary Vedic literature and the Purāṇas. The Śrauta-sūtras, *e.g.* the Kātyāyana-Śrauta-sūtra, declare that three higher *varṇas* are eligible for *Śrauta--yajñas* and a woman as a wife only can participate in the sacrifice.[21] As is well-known from Purāṇas themselves that they are meant for the benefit of the Śūdras and the female folk, they come to their help in crisis and lay down the observance of various *vratas* and *dānas* which can be performed by Śūdras and women—married, unmarried or a widow. and which would give them the reward equivalent to the reward of the performance of a *Śrauta* sacrifice; for example the Rasakalyāṇinīvrata as laid down in the Matsya-Purāṇa, ch. 63 is said to lead to the attainment of the reward accruing by the performance of a thousand Agniṣṭoma sacrifices; of course, this was a short cut[22] and an important landmark in the history of Purāṇic Hinduism. This reflects upon the catholic and reformistic tendency of the Purāṇas.

Let me make a slight digression and make a reference to another important issue in connection with the Vedic studies,—this may well be applicable to other branches of Sanskrit studies also, when many universities in India have accepted the regional language as a medium of expression. In this context we find that a complete translation of the RV and other important Vedic texts is not available in some of the Indian languages. It is, therefore, relevant that the translation of the RV and other important Vedic texts in the regional languages with notes is taken up to arouse and instil interest and a serious study of the Veda.[23] Translation is not an easy job, as it many be imagined or felt. It requires sound equipment. At this juncture I am reminded of P. L. Vaidya's remarks regarding translations; he said, " if two translations of a work do not present an identical meaning, either or even both of them may be wrong; for, the correct sense of a passage must be identical, whatever the language or whoever the translator may be. One must remember in this context the dictum of Ācārya Śaṅkara :

एकरूपेण अवस्थितो योऽर्थः, स परमार्थः[24] ।

Indeed this is a delicate matter, as he himself states.[25] It is quite true that this would enrich the literature in the regional languages. In this context it will not be out of place to note here that the working mastery of English language[26] will be one of the keys to be in contact with the wider world, when we find that the standard of mastery in English is deteriorating day by day. This is not to deny the importance and necessity of the knowledge of German and French languages. I am reminded here also of the " Translation Council " mentioned by Fr. A. Esteller in 1969.[27] It is obvious that while translating and interpreting the Vedic texts one has to keep himself well " informed of the Vedic research work which is being carried in Western and other countries, study it carefully and express considered views on it."[28] While expressing considered views it may be no wonder, if one finds that the progress is " of minute details only "[29] but we should work in all earnestness from more to more and achieve results which are recognised by all—East and West.

Friends ! I had some vague thoughts and I feel I have said in brief, what I wanted to say and I need not dwell on several other points which my worthy predecessors have touched and emphasised. I thank you, one and all, very heartily for a patient hearing you have given to me. I thank you, one and all, in advance, in anticipation of your hearty co-operation you will be extending to me, I am sure, for the successful conduct of this Section. I conclude with :

" नमः परमऋषिभ्यो नमः परमऋषिभ्यः "

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18. For details *vide* Kantawala S. G., Paṇi—Saramā Legend A Study in Vedico--Purāṇic Correlates, *ibid*., pp. 11 ff. According to Ulrich Schneider it was believed in ancient times that the birth of a twin of two opposite sexes entailed a sin and this hymn *i.e.* RV 10.10 was recited for the expiation of this sin. [Yama-Yamī, Indo-Iranian Journal, Vol. X, No. 1 (1967), pp. 1-32]; it may be noted that Sāyana states that the AV 3.2.84 is to be recited at the propitiatory rite for averting the evil of the birth of the twin to a cow, a mare, a she-donkey and a woman.

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29. Renou L , ABORI. Vol. 33, p. 258 as referred to by Bhawe S. S. in " The Soma-Hymns of the Ṛgveda," Part I, Baroda, 1957, p. 1.

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REFLECTIONS ON JAIN METAPHYSICS AND ETHICS $

By

H. M. JOSHI *

Introduction—Jain Ontology and Epistemology

In present essay I intend to bring out certain major points regarding Jain Metaphysics and Ethics. Firstly, with regard to the doctrine of '*Naya*' it should be made clear that it is an attempt to reconcile the prevailing extremes and divergent views of the nature of Reality. This should not be confused with *Saptabhaṅgī Naya* which refers to multi-cornered judgement of things of the world. Secondly, *Anekāntavāda* is distinctly an Ontological doctrine marking an approach to several dimensions of Reality which is composite. It is at times held to be an epistemological principle regarding nature and means of knowledge which is a mistake. Thirdly, *Vedāntin Ācāryas* such as Śaṅkarācāry aand Rāmānujācārya criticise Jainism holding that Jainism is violating the law of contradiction when it maintains multiple judgements regarding the thing and entity in the world; it is to be pointed out that the contradiction in this respect is not a 'flat' contradiction as mentioned in Deductive logic but it is an 'ideational contradiction' referring to conceptual understanding and not to matter of fact as at the same time and at the same place. If *Vedāntin Ācāryas* can allege the violation of law of Non-contradiction against the system of Jainism it can equally be levelled against Vedāntic system in which the two levels of phenomenal and transcendent have been said to be overlapped and confounded. In this connection it may be mentioned that in traditional philosophy in India the law of contradiction as usually understood requires its reformulation.

In its ethical doctrine and teaching, Jainism has uniquely contributed to the development of the doctrine of Non-violence not only individually but collectively. The moral principle of *Anuvrata* largely enunciated in Jain Ethics has been made popular for the masses in recent times.

In order to elaborate the above mentioned points let me dwell upon them in detail. It is usual to describe Jain philosophy as pluralistic and relativistic. This description however lacks in its critical undertaking and exposition which

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I intend to do in the present paper. It is also described as 'atheistic' without taking cognizance of its datum of 'Ominiscience' and testimony of 'infinity' and 'perfection'. Its concept of meaning in its epistemological principle and that of Transcendent utilitarianissm in Ethics are worth taking into consideration. Moreover the Law of *Karma* and that of individual destiny are not deterministic but they lead to principles of self-knowledge, self-discipline and self-determinism. They leave open avenues for potential liberation and individuality for mankind.

In the beginning it should be made clear that Jain philosophy lays down its Ontological as well as Epistemological approaches for dealing with nature of Reality as well as that of knowledge. In the context of philosophical thought Jainism attempts to propound certain Ontological principles the foundamental of which is *Anekāntavāda* according to which Reality is attributed with multiple dimensions. It is not possible to determine Reality and therefore it consists of manifold characteristics. The most celebrated text the implication of which forms almost the entire theoretical foundation of Jain philosophy of Being is as "The Real is characterised by birth or origination, death or destruction and sameness or continuity (*Utpādā-Vyaya-Dhrauvya-Yuktaṁ Sat*)". Everything real must have according to the principle embodied in this text of Umāsvātī the triple character of productivity (*Utpāda*), destructibility (*Vyaya*) and at the same time permanence or persistence (*Dhrauvya*) underlying it. The Jain philosopher attempts to reconcile the static view of Reality, on the one hand and the Buddhist view which adheres to a totally dynamic view on other hand. The comprehensive viewpoint of Jain philosophy is framing a durable Ontological foundation in the form of *Anekāntavāda* having within it the dialectic of Unity and Diversity.

Problem of 'Identity' and 'Difference'

Since the Upaniṣadic thought and *Brahmasūtra*s have been interpreted by Vedāntic *Ācārya*s with the postulates of Identity (*Abheda*), Identity-in-difference (*Bhedābheda*) and Difference (*Bheda*). The differences in the basic key of the relationship between world and *Brahman*, Individual and *Brahman* have been expressed variously in the main structure of metaphysical understanding. Jain philosophers develop the harmonised principle of 'Identity-in-Difference' as basic Ontological truth. Instead of making 'Identity' as the supreme category of Reality Jainas insist upon Difference and Plurality equally as status of Reality.

In the background of multiple-poised structure of Reality the category of contradiction (*Virodha*) gets the formulation not in the term of cancellation but as maintaining the balance of different elements of Truth. Contradiction is not antithetical to the complimentary aspects of Reality. It is not asserted as simultaneously positive and negative and facets of Single Reality. They are held as 'Alternative' assertions and rejection in the plural framework of truth. Jain

Metaphysics has framed durable foundation for the principle of *Anekānta* and it is to be measured by the strength with which Jain Logic would be able to vindicate its synthetic viewpoint not merely by pointing out that its viewpoint has an intrinsic validity, but also by bringing to bear upon it a dialectical power equal to the task.

The conception of Reality as bipolar is the cornerstone of the principle of *Anekānta*. The Jain maintains that the opposition between Existence and Non-Existence, Identity and Difference, do not affect Reality as oppositions such as Existence and Non-Existence are concurrently revealed together in corcrete Truth. Every entity comprises within the fulness of its being, two constituent elements both equally important, viz., what is itself (*Svatattva*) and what is other than itself (*Paratattva*). A jar (*Ghaṭa*) for instance is constituted not merely by all the traits entering into its making but also by the numerous other traits which constitute entities like a cloth (*paṭa*), a fruit and a book which are not or are other than the jar. The former group of traits forms the positive element (*Sat* or *Vidhi*) that is jar is per se and the latter group the negative element (*asat* or *niṣedha*) or what is not (or what is other than) the jar. (*Sarvapadārthānāṁ svarūpeṇa sattvaṁ pararūpeṇa cāsattvam, Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* p. 234.)

If Reality is considered to be all positive or merely existent (*Ekānta-bhāvātmaka*) then everything would be everything else (*Vaiśvāmpaṁ syāt* or *sarvātmakaṁ syāt*). On this hypothesis neither the distinctions among the entities nor the diverseness of character within the same entity could be explained ' If a thing had only positive nature, the nature would be its own, it is because of its negative nature, its differentiation from other things that a thing possess its specific nature. If the two states such as existence and Non-existence are consecutive or exclusive then when ' Existence ' prevails all would be indistinguishably existent and on the other hand when ' Non-existence ' pravails all would become totally non-existent. To avoid this anomaly it is appropriate to assume that existence and Non-existence are concurrent in Reality.

The positive and the negative elements of a real are not conceived to be related ' *Ab extra* '. They are mutually integral or organic and therefore the method of their organic connectedness is not by forging an external linking of them but by making a proper analysis of the internal structure of things which exhibit a manifold network of forces. The moment the fact that the positive and the nagative elements from the two sides of the shield of Reality is lost sight of, one goes the way of the *Advaitin* or *Śūnuavādin*. For the *Advaitin* created the positive aspect of the Real or identity into the sole principle of Reality, just as the *Śūnyavādin* permitted an unrestricted sway of the negative principle on his theorising which resulted in the negativistic Absolute of the Void. Nor did the

Naiyāyika fare better by treating each element as being in a severe isolation from the other. The Jain has maintained the delicate balance of these two elements in the equilibrium of Reality. This is due to his conviction that position and negation, or identity and difference are not mutually opposed with any 'Aggressive repugnancy of two things that cannot coexist without collision' but are compelling complements.

To look closely into the concept of negation it is necessary to keep in mind the distinction between total nagation and nagation of determinate or even determinable traits with reference to an existent. If these negative traits were mere non-existents in an unreal sense of the word then they could not be described as 'clothness', or 'fruitness' etc. Negation of the determinate is negative in a particular Ontological setting although different Ontological setting these traits may assume a definitely positive character like the jarness in the present context. In other words, position and negation are relative terms and what is one under one set of circumstances may become in other context under a different set of circumstances.

The factors determining whether an aspect of a particular factual situation is positive or negative depend upon the material (*Dravya*), the place (*Kṣetra*), the time (*Kāla*) and the state (*bhāva*) attaching to the situation. The material (*svadravya*) from which the object in question is made, thet emporal and spatial setting in which it is located and the state it manifests in the specific context concerned are the fourfold factors which differentiate the positive aspect of the object concerned from the corresponding negative fourfold factors (*Paradravyādicatuṣṭaya*) associated with the other or the concomitant negative aspect of the object.

A question is raised at this stage whether the positive aspect comprising its fourfold determining characteristics would not be after all the same as the negative aspect comprising and corresponding fourfold negative characteristics. This doubt is based on the assumption that the positive aspect, like its negative counterpart belongs to an identical entity. Therefore it (positive aspect) ought to be the same as the other one. This amounts to the identification of position and negation, of Being and Non-Being. The Jain dialectician responds to this question and reaffirms his position that the two are distinctive elements, although they refer to an identical entity and can, therefore reside in the same entity since the entity is of a manifold nature.

Jain attempt to reconcile 'Extremes'

Like his opponent the *Anekāntavādin* is well aware of the fact that predicating two opposing characters of the same aspect of an entity is of course a contradiction, "*Tenaiva svabhāvena saccāsacceti viruddham etat*".[1] This contradiction is as objectionable to the Jain as it is to his opponents. However what the opponents have persistently missed here is that the so-called 'opposing characters' refer to the two different aspects of an entity and consequently become necessary and complimentary components of it. Having the way in which Being and Non-Being or Identity and difference have been synthesised in Concrete Reality, we may now observe the treatment of *Doṣas* the main being that of contradiction (*virodha*). There are according to the Jain three possible forms (*rūpas*) in which *virodha* can occur. (1) *Vadhyaghātakabhāva* (Destructive opposition), (2) *Sahanavaśanabhāva*[2] (the non-congruent opposition) and (3) *Pratibadhya-pratibandhakabhāva* (Obstructive opposition). The first one holds between two hostile participants or factors one of which is stronger than and destructive of the other if the two are brought together. The illustration cited under this form of opposition is that of the mongoose and the serpent between which the mongoose is stronger and therefore the preying agent in relation to its prey the serpent. The paradox of the situation is that the two factors cannot be brought together into a state of lasting union owing to their inherent oppositions to each other. This cannot be admitted to exist between '*Sat*' and '*asat*' in the '*anekānta*' Ontology. The participant factors are admitted to be of equal strength (*tulya-balatvāt*) and therefore of a co-ordinate nature which admits of no fissure in a real which can be described as unified complex.

Secondly '*Sahanavaśanabhāva*' or the congruent opposition is a form of opposition which occurs in the case of two states which cannot exist together in one basis. It is possible for the two states in question to exist at different periods of time (*kālabhedena*) but they cannot do so at the same period of time. In a raw state of mango for instance it is green whereas in a ripe state of the same fruit it becomes yellow (*pīta*). However the raw and ripe states cannot, it is admitted, exist together in the same fruit as the two states are one after the other and cannot be at the same time. The Jain holds that this form of '*virodha*' also cannot affect his conception of Reality as *astitvanāstitvarūpātmaka* in as much as both *astitva* and *nāstitva* are concurrently revealed to exist together in concrete fact. If the two states, viz, *astitva* and *nāstitva* are consecutive and exclusive then when *astitva* prevails all would be indistinguishably existent and similarly when *nāstitva* prevails all would become totally non-existent. To avoid the anomaly it would be appropriate to think that *astitva* and *nāstitva* are concurrent in Reality.

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[1] Haribhadra : *Anekāntajayapatākā*, with Haribhadra's own commentary and with '*vivaraṇa*' Sanatana Jain Granthamala, Varanasi, 1914, Vol. I. p. 44.

[2] Alexander, Samuel : *Space, Time and Deity*, Victor Golanctz; London, 1920, Vol. I, p. 225-236.

Thirdly '*Pratibadhyapratibandhakabhāva*' or the obstructive opposition is said to occur between two events or facts when one obstructs the occurence of the other. The removal of the obstructing fact is, under this form of contradiction the necessary antecedent condition for the occurrence of the other. The traditional example is that of the protective influence of a 'moonstone' (*candrakāntamaṇi*), the fictitious gem with cooling property, the rays of the sun cannot it is said burn us. That is, the occurrence of the burning effect is conditional open the removal of heat-obstructing stone. Similarly heat which is an obstructing factor to cold needs to be removed before a body feels a cold. The Jain view of '*astitvanāstitvarūpatva*' of Reality is not accepted to be liable to this form of '*virodha*' also. The above explanation of types of '*virodha*' is necessary in view of possible charge against Jainism and especially '*anekāntavāda*' of violating the law of contradiction. The Jain seems to have persistently met with such a charge in its ontological endeavour at the hands of opponents such as Vedantins and Buddhists.

While repudiating the form of contradiction it is worthwhile to point out the approach of Jainas as distinguished from that of Non-Jainas. As regards the problem of Reality there are two approaches, viz., Aposteriorism and Apriorism. Aposteriorism asserts a direct appeal to experience and Apriorism to some kind of 'intuition' which is 'pure and transcendent.' The intuitional or the Aprioristic view would not of course object to the idea of experience being the sphere of verification of truth. But it objects to the treatment of experience as the sole determinant of the knowledge and the validity of its truth. This contention is expressed in the following observation, "The opposition between Being and non-being is known A Priori and does not stand in need of verification to validate it. Its validity is self-certified, and though experience may illustrate its truth it does not confer validity upon it. Its validity is intrinsic, being derived from the aprioristic constitution of our thought-principle. If experience is found to be in consonance with this law, as known a priori, it is true and valid, and if it is found to be at variance with it, it must be rejected as false."

The Aposterioristic view of the Jain, on the contrary, takes the attitude that experience is the source of the knowledge as well as the validity of its truth. There is on this view, no transcendental or transempirical region of 'pure' thought, from which the so-called contigent and particular truths can derive their truthfulness or validity and universality. Experience which gives rise to knowledge of truths also brings about its support of their self-validity and self-certitude. This supposition that experience is the source of knowledge and the validity of all truths underlies the Jain contention that if experience does not vouch for contradiction then contradiction itself is false and not the experience. Hence the strength of the Jain view of Reality as existence and non-existence combined and it is held to be valid.

Besides the above explanation of Jainas there is on significant principle which the Buddhists claim to be intimately related with his '*Bhedavāda*' and on which it is necessary to know the Jain position. It is the principle of '*Arthakriyākāritva*' or casual potency which is considered by the Buddhist to form the essence of Reality. The Jain shares the Buddhist opposition to *Dravyavāda* although some Buddhist scholars imagine that this opposition to '*dravyavāda*' affects the Jain position as well in so far as the Jain view is concerned with the '*Dravya*' as an element of Reality. In this context it may be observed that there are two important points of difference between the Buddhist and the Jain in the meaning they attach to '*dravyavāda*' in their common denunciation of the view which relates this notion of '*arthakriyākāritva*' with '*dravyavāda*'. The Buddhist is against '*Dravyavāda*' of any kind whereas the Jain is against '*Ekāntadravyavāda*'. Moreover the Buddhist's attack is against the hypothesis of the static (*kūṭasthanitya*) substance whereas Jain's attack is on the same hypothesis but only as a contrast to his own view of the Dynamic (*Pariṇāmī*) *dravya*.

The Jain dialecticians such as Prabhācandra, Hemacandra, Abhayadeva and Mallisena do not merely show with the Buddhist the inapplicability of the principle of causal efficiency to the hypothesis of '*Dravyaikāntavāda*'. They too pursue the consequences of the application of this principle even into the sphere of the Buddhist hypothesis of *Kṣaṇikavāda*, the '*Paryāyaikāntavāda*' or the '*anityavāda*' as the Jainas would call it which holds that Reality is a series of discrete moments without the thread of an inner connectedness. They try to show '*arthakriyākāritva*' which is also maintained by Buddhist too even to the extent of deriving his very conception of Reality, viz., *Kṣaṇikavāda* from it, or at any rate of identifying it with *Kṣaṇikavāda*—deserts him when the consequences of its application of his theory of Reality are examined. The Jain holds that causal efficiency is not consistent with the principle of momentariness or *Kṣaṇikavāda*-although Buddhist himself treats causal efficiency as the very essence of his principle. The Jain attempts to prove his view by analysing the only possible two modes in which causal efficiency can function in a Reality which consists of discrete and perishing moments (*Pratikṣaṇavināśībhāva*) without any thread of inward necessity connecting them into some kind of unity. The two modes are succession or consecutiveness (*Krama* or *paurvāparya*) and non-succession or simultaneity.

Buddhist view of Causation

The causal efficiency cannot, according to Jain view, function successively owing to the fact that the momentary existence (*kṣaṇas*) lacks abiding nature and hence can have neither spatial or temporal duration. Succession-spatial or temporal-involves the notions of 'before' and 'after' which are absent from the moment. To support this contention both Hemacandra and Mallisena cite the following, "Whatever is a point of space is there alone and whatever is at an instant of time is also exclusively there. Thus in this hypothesis viz., '*paryaikāntavāda*' there is no spatial or temporal extension for the entities." (The stanza runs, ' *Yoyatraiva sa tatriva yo yadaiva tedaiva saḥ na deśakālayoḥ-vyāptir bhāvanam iha vidyate* // *Syādvādamañjarī* (ed. A. B. Dhruva, Bombay Sanskrir & Parkrit Series, Bombay, 1933) (text) P. 19).

If the Buddhist replies to this contention by stating that although the moments perish and have no extension in space or time they do constitute series (*santāna*) which does not perish and therefore enables the moments to be successive then the Jain rejoinder to his opponent is the problem which may be stated as, ' In the first instance, ' *santāna* ' or the continuous series is an unreal fiction (*santānasyāvastutvāt*). There is nothing else than the self-sufficient moments. In the second instance, supposing the reality of *santāna* is conceded for the sake of argument, even then the Buddhist position will be as illogical as before for *Santāna* too would then have to share the momentary character of the units in it. This would be needless duplication of momentariness in another medium (*santāna*) which is not only imposed falsely on the momentary units but also can never sustain any continuance in it.

Even in an appeal for the other mode, viz., the simultaneous functioning of the causal efficiency the Buddhist would find difficulty in replying. This may be illustrated by means of an illustration of a fruit which simultaneously reveals various effects like colour, taste, smell etc., In this case the question which naturally would arise is whether 'colour moment' (*rūpokṣaṇa*) and the taste moment (*rasa kṣaṇa*) arise from an identical or single nature of the moment or from different or many nature of it. If they were to arise from a single nature, then they would be all the same for the obvious reason that they arise from the self-same nature (*yadyekena svabhāvena janayet tadā teṣām ekatvaṁ syādekasvabhāvajanyatvāt*) and hence would not admit of diversity. On the other side if they were to arise from many natures, some effect like colour arising from material cause (*upādānabhāvena*) and others like taste arising from co-operative auxiliary factors (*sahakārītvena*), then the Jainas would ask whether the many natures are integral (*ātmabhūtaḥ*) to the cause then evidently they cannot in any sense claim to constitute the dynamic nature of the cause in question, they will become identically the same since they are said to proceed from a single cause or for that matter become the cause itself (*tad avyatiritatvāt teṣāṁ tasya caikatvāt*), on the other hahd if they are non-intergral that is to say if they do not belong to the cause then evidently they cannot constitute an intimate nature of the cause in question. The alternative of the cause itself admitted to be of single or identical nature-will become diversified because of the fact that the plurality of natures and the variety of effects (*svabhāvabhedaḥ*) *kāryasaṅkaryañ* ca) will inevitably divide its synthesis. Arguing on the part of the Buddhist that this contigency or plurality of natures and diversity of effects would not arise in this case owing to the fact that such plurality and diversity are due to the course being ' *upādāna* ' (material) at one place (that is with respect to ' *rūpa* ' or colour in the present example), and *sahakārī* (auxiliary) at anoter (that is with respect to ' *rasa* ' or taste in the present example), would not help here the Buddhist for this plea will not in the least mitigate the tendency and plurality which are too obvious in the Buddhist argument. Therefore the arguments for the simultaneous functioning of the causal efficiency in a momentary real also becomes invalid.

Jain reply to ' Momentariness '

Thus the above explanation shows that neither in the ' *dravyaikāntavāda*, not in the ' *paryaikāntavāda* ' is there any logical validity or necessity for the function of the principle of causal efficiency. The combination of these two hypotheses into a mechanical theory called ' *Ubhayavāda* ' will also prove unsatis factory as it will be shown leter. The Jain understands by ' *arthakriyākāritva* ' a capacity for generating the practical consequences as indicated by Hemacandra in his ' *Sūtra* ', ' *arthakriyāsāmarthyāt* ', This meaning is the same as what the Buddhist means by causal effieciency. The Jain maintains also that ' *arthakriyā-Kāritva* ' constitutes a unique property (*asādhāraṇa rūpā* or *lakṣaṇa*) of a concrete real. This is laid down by Hemacandra in his *sūtra* on the subject ' *tallakṣaṇatvādvastunaḥ* '. The concrete real is an integral synthesis of continuity and transience or identity and difference. This is shown by his adherence to the ' *dravyaparyāyātmakatvavāda* '. Accordingly the only kind of reality which offers an adequate field for the operative activity and meaning of ' *arthakriyākāritva* ' is held by the Jain to be the one which is contemplated by his synthetic view. It is worth mentioning here that according to Hemacandra the urge for right knowledge is born out of the need of practical consequences. (*arthakriyācthi sravaḥ prāmāṇyam anveksate* '). It is his pragmatic view and it reminds us of the development of pragmatism in the west.

The significance of Jātyantaravāda

The above consideration is also seen in Jain view of ' unique synthesis ' and development of things and events in the world in their principle of ' *Jātyantaravāda.* ' Like the principle of ' *Naya* ' this is a corollary of *Anekāntavāda* in the field of causality and relationship between *Dravya* and *Guna*. It attempts to mitigate the difficulty of *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy which insists upon certain *Dravyas* as eternal and certain others as non-eternal. Such a division between eternal and non-eternal has necessitated *Vaiśeṣika* thinkers to posit God (*Iśvara* or *Māheśvara*) for explaining the creation and destruction of the changing world. The bifurcation of world into two or three independent orders of permanence and change or identity and difference does not commend itself to Jain philosophers. Hemacandra is in entire agreement with the Buddhist in regard to the inapplicability of causal efficiency either at the stage of simultaneity or of succession in a 'static' *Dravya*. He goes further in showing how it cannot be operative even in a world of discreet momentariness which is the view of the Buddhist himself. It is only the integral view of 'identity-in-defference' called the *Jātyantaravāda*' which offers an adequate definition of the real. The Jain ontologist maintains that a real is a synthesis of 'identity-in-difference that each such synthesis is '*Jātyantara*' or '*sui generis*'. It is not a quantitative or numerical synthesis but a vital one of the two elements. Each such synthesis is also said to be unique in the sense that when the real is analysed, the two elements of identity and difference exhaust between themselves the entire contact of the real although they display a distinctive (*viśiṣṭa*) structural and functional individuality—not found in the individual constituent elements—in their combination. This is illustrated by the oft-quoted illustration of *Narasiṃha* (the Man-lion). As the name itself suggests, *Narasiṁha* is a combination of *Nara* (man) and *siṁha* (lion). Nevertheless it indicates a being which is somehow different in its combination from the part severally entering into its making although it is not possible to get such a being outside the parts in question. In *Gifford lectures* Samuel Alexander makes a suggestive observation which brings out the spirit of the Jain notion of '*jātyantaratva*' as an argument against a world of repetitive cycle of entities and events, " Bare repetition it may be affirmed does not even exist. Manufactured articles are not identical though they may be identical within certain limits of precision. It is true that the more closely instances reproduce each other the less useful they are for scientific discovery ".[3]

Leibnitz is more clear in this, regard. He observes, 'There is nothing in the universe which does not enjoy a certain singularity, which is to be found in no other thing.' He states under the principle of the 'Identity of indiscernibles; that not even any two leaves of a tree or any two drops of water or of milk could be 'entirely alike' because of the fact that 'The things are distinguishable in themselves'.[4] The *jātyantara* trait of an entity is based in the fundamental manifoldness (*anekāntasvarūpatva*) which is believed by the Jain to be the heart of all Reality. The existence of a simple real is thoroughly unacceptable to the Jain. '*jātyantaratva*' can arise, it is believed from the foundation of a manifold or variegated real which alone could afford the basis for the co-ordinate existence of diverse elements or components, as well as their causal interplay which in turn results in the emergence of a fully-fledged unique or singular entity. This is the reason why Jain conceives '*Anekāntasvarūpatva*' as a synonym of '*Paramārthasat*' (Reality) and maintains it as the pivot on which the entire philosophical development takes place.

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[3] Space, Time and Deity, S. Alexander, London 1920 Vol. I. p. 231.

[4] Russell, Bertrand : *A critical Exposition of the Philosoph of G.W.F. Leibnitz*, Allen and Unwin, London. 1949, p. 220.

Before we leave the topic of '*Anekāntavāda*' and consider *Syādvāda* it would be proper to observe the remarks of Prof. K. C. Bhattacharya regarding *Anekāntavāda*. He writes, 'When two objects other than knowing are known together, they are ordinarily taken to be in some kind of whole, specific relation or unity. This cannot be said of object and its cognition as together. Objects may, however, be barely together, the relation of a whole to its elements of a relation to its terms or of a unity to its factors is nothing more specific than togetherness. This then is the fundamental category of realism; and whole, relation or unity would be understood as particular cases of it. This category is itself manifold which cannot be subsumed under a universal and do not make a unity in any sense. The Jain category might be formulated as distinction from distinction which has a definite range of alternative values only one of which answers to the distinction or togetherness of the modern realist.[5]

The 'Naya' and 'Saptabhaṅgīnaya'

Partial knowiedge about someone of the innumerable aspects of an object is called by the Jain writers '*Naya*'. Every judgement that we pass in daily life about any object is/therefore true only in reference to the standpoint adopted and aspect of the object considered. Here the methodology of *Nava* should be distinguished from *Saptabhaṅgī* which is also called *Naya* at times. *Naya*s too are seven, certain *Dravyanaya*s and others as *Paryāyanaya*s. *Naya*s are an attempt to analyse one of the standpoints under the aspect of identity (*Dravyārthikanaya*) or of difference (*Paryāyārthikanaya*) and *syādvāda* further investigates the various aspects of the truth expressed by *Naya*. It integrates them into a consisitent and comprehensive synthesis. *Nayavāda* is not only an attempt to bring into synthesis the extreme categories of thinking but it is verbal clarification also. The truth of the viewpoint of etymomological clarification is dependent on the following principles of Jain philosophy of language. The first is that whatever is knowable is also expressible. That is knowledge or the meaning of anything in reality is not possible except through the means of words. The second principle is that strictly speaking there can be only one word for one meaning and vice versa. Accordingly several words which are conventionally supposed to convey one and the same meaning have in actual fact as many meanings as the number of words found there. That is, this principle does not recognise any synonymous terms but maintains a determinate relation between meaning and its word, (*Vācyavācakantiyama*). There are different traditions in Jain philosophy considering the number and epistemological purpose of *naya*s such as *sāmānyanaigama Viśeṣanaigam* and others.

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[5] Bhattacharya, K. C. : *Studies in Philosophy*, Vol I, ed. by Gopinath Bhattacharya, Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1956, p. 332.

While *Nayavāda* is analytical in character, *Syādvāda* functions as a synthetical method. The Jain maintains that *Saptabhaṅgī* offers a well-ordered scheme in which the modes (*bhaṅga*s) are exclusive of one another but are at the same time in their totality exhaustive of the manysided truth of the indeterminate real under discussion. Every judgement that we pass in daily life about any object is therefore true only in reference to the standpoint occupied and aspect of the object considered.

In view of these facts the Jainas insist that every judgement (*naya*) should be qualified by some word like 'somehow' (syat i.e. some respect) so that the limitation of this judgement and the possibility of other judgements from other point of view may be always clearly borne in mind. That the seven modes of *Syādvāda* express 'partial truths' which do not firmly hang together as a logical necessity is only the *prima facie* view of *syādvāda.* That their truths are severally partial is true but from this it does not necessarily follow that they are an odd collection of arbitrary 'half truths' lacking in proper synthesis or systems. It is the doctrine of *Syādvāda* which is criticised by non-jain philosophers therefore it would be proper to note certain criticism. Prof. Belvalkar writes that 'The dialectic (of *syādvāda*) could not have sprung up from the same teacher or one and the same philosophical background'. This means that according to him *Syādvāda* is incompatible with or any rate does not naturally emerge from the Jain philosophy of identity-in-difference. Connecting this issue with the charge of agnosticism he writes in his notes on *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya*, 'Śaṅkarācārya no less than the *Sūtrakāra* . .....succeeds in proving that as a mere '*anaikāntika*' theory of predication the *Syādvāda* must return upon itself'.[6] Rao G. Hanumantha strenthens him by placing in his hands a further weapon in the form of charging *syādvāda* with 'self-contradiction'. He writes, 'We see the tendency to please everybody and to compromise and in trying to compromise it involves itself in self-contradiction; the saviour of all systems is committing suicide'.[7]

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[6] As quoted in book '*Jain Theories of Reality and Knowledge*' by Dr. Y. J. Padmarajaiyah : Jain Sahitya Vikas Mandal, Bombay-56, 1963 p. 376.

[7] Belvalkar, S. K. : *The Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa, with Śaṅkara's Commentay(Bhāṣya*), 2nd edition, with English translation and Notes, Poona, 1931.

The Coherence view of Truth

In order to evaluate the *saptabhaṅgī Naya* it should be first of all be borne in mind that it is essentially a theory of knowledge and its validation. Knowlege is conditional judgement stating a specific position of a characteristic of a thing or object. As regards its affirmation, negation and neutrality it lays down the first four judgements. As regards the fourth judgement that it is inexpressible it may be regarded as similar to *Advaita Vedāntic* statement that *Māyā* is *Anirvacanīya*. It is not unique for Jainism to hold that knowledge is relative and that the object is unreal as well as inexpressible. The point for distinction for Jainism is in the first instance to regard it for the specific object and in the second instance to hold it for the relativity of the entire accumulation of objects of the world. As they have Realistic bias they do not state a judgement about the whole world as unreal or inexpressible.

As I have pointed out in the beginning that in case of the charge levelled against Jainism to the effect that they are committing contradiction in judgement especially such as third and seventh judgement the charge does not hold true as the said contradiction is not a flat contradiction but an ideational contradiction. Had it been so it could be levelled against *Advaita Vedāntin* too when it is held that '*Māyā* is *sadasadvilakṣaṇa*.' However to say that it is *sat* as well as *asat* is not to commit a flat contradiction but to show that it is an instance of ideational contradiction. Flat contradiction exists in the text book of logic; it is not found in the concrete world. In the concrete world there are contraries not contradictories. In fact for those philosophers who hold that Reality is one there is no contradiction anywhere in the world. Contradiction is subtle and so it is within rather than without. The contradiction which is held to be within can be dissolved. So the charge of contradiction levelled by *Advaita Vedāntin* against Jainas in case of *Syādvāda* is a misfired charge and if that is so it could be levelled against *Vedāntin* too. However this is not the case as the nature of contradiction in both the cases is not an 'evident' or flat contradiction.

The above consideration of the *Syādvāda* of Jainism can be reinforced by statement of B. Russell in his '*Mysticism and Logic*'. Russell says to the effect that 'If idealist philosophers hold that something is contradictory and therefore it is false then that which is declared to be contradictory cannot be held to be real later on. And yet idealist philosophers say that it is 'somehow' real. In his '*Outlines of philosophy*' again Russell argues that "If something is held to be contradictory then it should be said to be completely contradictory. It cannot be held to be 'more or less' contradictory and therefore 'more or less' false.[8]

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[8] Russell, Bertrand : *Mysticism and Logic*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1946, p. 137.

It seems that Russell is showing us what is the nature of 'flat' contradiction which is never found in the concrete world. Again, Russell denies that there can be any 'degree' of truth. If a statement is true it ought to be completely true.

Limitatiou of Jain View of Truth

To evaluate *Syādvāda* in the light of above criticism of Russell the conditional truth and its merit should be insisted in more detail as *Syādvāda* lays down that the statements have degree and conditions of truth. When Russell says that if a thing is true it ought to be entirely true and not more or less true implying conditions. In this connection again Prof. Blanshard's remarks would help us in appreciating what is held by *Syādvāda*. He writes in his '*Nature of thought*,' "We have seen that to judge at all is to enter upon a particular kind of enterprise, which consists in trying to get reality before us in a way that will satisfy the mind. What will fully satisfy the mind is nothing short of a completely systematic insight and when fragmentary insights are accepted, it is with a tacit reservation that they might be otherwise if the whole tale were told. The logicians' dictum is so far true that since judgement in its very nature is an affirmation within the whole, no judgement of bare exclusion from the whole is thinkable. But if the dictum means that what is explicitly before us we always predicate absolutely, just as it now appears, it is a superstition." At a later stage Prof. Blanshard writes, "To the charge that coherence theory contradicts itself because it is the uncoditional assertion that all truths are conditional we reply that there is no contradiction because these types are not exclusive. The attempt to divide judgement into two mutually repellent classes, the conditional and the unconditional is a mistake. Every judgement is both." (P. 290-291).[9] The emphasis of Jainas on the conditional truth ought to carry them to hold the coherence test and view of truth and this principle of degree of truth and falsity will be acceptable to *Advaita Vedānta* and modern idealist philosophers, in Western philosophy. However there is a distinct principle of cancellation of empiricalt ruth and sublating it by Transcendent truth and experience of Reality in *Advaita Vedānta*. This is absent in Jain Epistemology as it has a tendency towards Realism. The absence of Transcendent level of Truth and Reality makes Jain epitemology and Ontology limited and fixed in view of its comprehension and integration which is one of the aims of Jainas in the field of knowledge and existence.

'Karma' according to Jain Philosophy

When we examine Jain Ethics the beliefs of Jain Ethics as well as Religion we find that they are dependent upon actual moral practices and experience of

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[9] Blanshard, Bland : *Nature of Thought*, George Allen and Unwin, London, in two vols., Third impression, 1955, Vol. II (two), p. 290-291.

Omniscience. It is usually remarked that Jain religion is atheistic. However Jainism accepts the Reality of Godhead and so it is a half-truth and therefore misleading. If religion is considered to be consciousness attempting to establish the closest possible relationship between penson and Being transcending ordinary empirical self then Jainsim is indeed religious. Religious beliefs and practices are due to the various attempts to establish this relationship. It is true Jainism does not accept the belief of God as creator of the world. However, it accepts the attributes of Infinite knowledge, infinite apprehension and Infinite power. Moreover Jainism recognises the essential spiritual nature of human beings. An ordinary animal suffering from the vicissitudes of the ordinary life is not God; it is only his pure nature to which divinity can be attributed and in this sense it is but natural to look upon the high-souled beings who by their self-culture and self-development have realized their pure selves as divine beings. Jainas recognise that every living being is essentially pure and has the capacity of fully developing its own nature. The fundamental God-idea when rendered into rational term is found to be attributable-not to any external Transcendent being but to the essential nature of every living being.

Jainas maintained that man is essentially free and infinite in his endowments but that in his finite state his imperfection is due to his association with certain principles foreign to his fundamental nature. The foreign principle is called '*Karma*' by them. In essence '*Karma*' is material Reality. They argued that when the *Kārmic* matter left the self completely there is no reason why it should not emerge in its natural splendour and perfection. Important question therefore arises as to the possibilities of *karma*s which according to Jainas were attached to the nature of self from beginningless time, ever leaving or being made to leave the self completely. The Jainas solved the question by pointing not that although the *karma* was found to stick to or to be mixed up with the soul, its intensity was liable to variation from time to time. There are occasions when the influences of the *karma*s upon the self seem to wane and these serve as the opportune moments when the self is to aspire and work assiduously for shaking off the shackles of the *Karma*. If the self avails itself of the favourable moments when the karma-bond appears to be weak and loose and takes to the path of self-culture and self-development with a determined will the realization of its essential perfection becomes possible. The Jain philosophers point out that everyone's self is essentially free so that when the *Karma* element obstructing its freedom become weakened it is possible for every one if he is so inclined to exert himself for the annihilation of these exotic elements and make clear the way for his own uplift and self-realization.

The Above faith that one can improve upon the defects and demerits and this is the incentive to moral conduct has been expressed by saying that

Samyag-darśana (right faith) and *samyag-jñāna* (right knowledge) are associated with *samyag-caritra* (right conduct)—the three together are called the *Ratna-traya* (three jewels) being the way to liberation. This faith which is bedrock of moral conduct is itself immediate apprehension. It is not the result of discursive cogitations.

The Jain philosophers describe the *samyak-darśana* as relating to seven entities. Firstly it has for its object the *Jīva* or the self implying that there is an immediate consciousness about one's own self being a reality. Nobody can conceive that he is not; self-consciousness or the consciousness about one's own self is thus unquestionably immediate. The second entity of the *samyak-darśana* is the *Ajīva* or collection of reals which are outside the self. The very consciousness of the self as a limited and finite being implies the immediate consciousness of the *Ajīva* or the non-self as a reality also. The connection of the self with what it is not, i.e. with *Ajīva* is called the *Āsrava* (literally the inflow of the non-self into the self) is also implied in the immediate consciousness of the two foregoing co-existing realities.

The result of this *āsrava* or the union of two realities of the self and the non-self is the '*Bandha*' or the state of self's bondage. The feeling of bondage has variations of intensity implying that the inflow of the elements of the non-psychological nature into the self may be stopped; a belief in the possibility of this stoppage of the further inflow of the non-psychical which is called the '*Saṁvara*' is indeed psychological-though an ethical one. We have on varying occasions experiences of accumulated feelings of weakness and depression and justifies the moral belief in the possibility of the '*Nirjara*' or the partial destruction of the non-psychical elements which found their way into the self and in the next stage of liberation which is the culminating result of those foreign elements being totally removed. The right belief of the Jainas thus consists in an immediate faith in the reality of seven entities., the self, non-self, the connection of the self with the non-self, psychical bondage consequent on the self with the non-self, the two divergent realities, the stoppage of their further connection, the partial dissociation of the non-self from the self and the final as well as total dissociation of the two from each other.

'Detachment' and innovation by Kuṇḍakuṇḍācārya in Jain Ethics

The problem of controlling passions and cultivating moral virtues leads Jainas to evolve the doctrine of *Anuvrata* and *Mahāvrata* influencing individual and collective morality. While evolving the concept of '*vratas* (vows)' Jainism is well aware of the evil obstructing the observance of virtues and its continuity in moral life. It holds that even a right believer may be occupied with evil deeds. Hence there arises the concept of limited morality called '*vikala carita* (partial conduct) in contrast to absolute morality known as *sakala carita* where in these vicious deeds are completely renounced. In this context it is noteworthy that animate and inanimate objects are not in themselves auspicious and inauspicious. They are called auspicious and inauspicious when they are considered in relation to the mundane souls. They very often wield influence over and react upon mundane souls to the extent of engendering either mild passions or intense ones in the structure of self.

Intense passions manifest themselve violence, falsehood, theft, unchastity and acquisition which have been represented to be vices. The elimination of these vices requires the cultivation of virtues of non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing, chastity and non-acquisition. Out of these virtues non-violence is the fundamental. All the rest should be regarded as the means for its proper sustenance, just as the field of corn requirest adequate fencing for its protection.

Jainas hold that each soul possesses some individual characteristics different from others. The doctrine which gives us an explanation of our individual characteristics, that is some satisfactory answer to the factors of our individuality which we have at present and tells us how these factors were produced as the result of the forces generated in the past is known as the doctrine of *Karma*. In other words the doctrine of *Karma* is the law that accounts for our actions and reactions found in the form of introspection as well as behaviour. Mundane souls are not perfect because their knowledge, energy etc., are found to be restricted. They are not free to enjoy complete knowledge and unrestricted bliss. Why is it so ? What restricts their innate faculty of knowing ? The answer is, they are infected by something foreign which veils their natural faculties. This foreign element is known as *Karma*. According to Jain conception *Karma* is an aggregate of material particles which are very fine and imperceptible, to the senses. It enters into the soul and produces changes in it. It is a form of matter which produces certain conditions in the mundane souls which are suffering from the shackles of birth and death from beginningless time.

Conclusion.

It is this doctrine which lays bare the principle of highest pureconsciousne s and it distinguishes itself from mundane and empirical one disturbed by the inflow of *Karma*. Ācārya Kundakunda has pointed out in his work, '*Samayasāra*' to the effect that if '*Karma*' is a bondage then the highest reality of '*Paramārtha*' or pure self is a transcendent value to be established in conscious ness and individual ascent of inward cultivation. In chapter of the abovementioned work he mentions that for a person who has risen to '*Samadrsti*' or proper vision there is no inflow of *dravyakarma* into the *Ātman* and there being no *Dravya-karma*, *Bhāvakarma* does not arise. This shows that the principle of *Karma* cannot constitute substantial reality in Jain moral philosophy. Moreover it is said that it is the principle of *Pudgala* which is the store-house of *Karmas* of the individual. It is held about the nature of '*pudgala*' that it is at once material psychical and the substantive unity of self. It stores the past *karmas* and determines the future birth of the individual. Morever it is not clear whether it is in contradistinction from the pure self that *pudgala* holds the unity of the individual and carries forward the subtle body of the individal or it is part of the organic self standing above the process of *Dravya* and *Bhāvakarmas*. If *pudgala* is the centre of individuality it cannot be foreign to the true self which is pure and full of knowledge.

In chapter VI of the abovementioned work Kundkunda speaks about the blocking of inflow of *Karma*. It is said that the presence of the evil-*karma* does not affect the status of *Jñānī*.[10] When the true nature of self is apprehended the practice of *Saṁvara* may be said to be successful The *Bhāvāsravas* which bind the human soul are ultimately due to *mithyātattva* or wrong belief. As a result of right vision the *karmas* begin to shed off themselves and due to right knowledge even enjoyment or suffering does not become a source of bondage. This shedding off of *Karma* is both material and psychical. It is said that a man of true knowledge is not adversely affected by the action or *Pudgala Karma*. He is not directly influenced by *Karma*.

However the above view of Ācārya Kundakunda is an innovation in Jain philosophy and shows the limitation of *Karma* generally laid down in its philosophy of liberation. The mode of *Aghātīya* or the non-destructive *Karma* aggressing upon the self is the result of inadequate view of matter in Jain philosophy. In conclusion it may be pointed out that dualism between spirit and matter, self and *Jīva*, Destructive (*ghātīya*) and non destructive (*aghātīya*) *Karma* bring Jain concept of moral activity as well as liberation to an impasse from which Jainism cannot rid itself. Distinction among categories cannot amount to their separation in Reality. Otherwise an unbridgeable gulf between soul and body would arise. The concept of *Pudgala* is an attempt to find an intermediary entity which is supposed to be the synthesis of material particles and conscious formation of individualtion. However Jainism does not utilise this concept adequately to change its realistic and dualistic bias so as to overcome the lacuna in its structure of thought.

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[10] Chakravarti. A.: *Samayasāra by Kundakundācārya*, English Translation, Sacred Books of the Jaina Series, Arrah, 1920, Chapter VI.

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VALUE AND SOCIAL-STRUCTURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

A. K. SINHA*

While there are no two scholars having the same view regarding definition of the term 'Social Structure', there can be no dispute over the centrality of man to society,[1] for society is, primarily, an organized aggregate of interacting and interrelating individuals[2] seeking fulfilments of their basic requirements which do not go beyond mere biological level of consciousness and which are to be fulfilled for the sake of the existence of not only a human being but all living beings.[3] As man, by nature, is a value-seeking being[4] and at the same time he is a social being also, the process through which he, consciously or unconsciously, develops a society is highly influenced by his sense of value which is a basic quality of man distingushing him from the world of animals.[5] Though such an influence is not clearly visible in the primary stages of what we may call the process of 'Social-formations', yet after having achieved a definite shape or

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1 " Society is really the form of human life in general. Human life and social life are synonymous.. ...." Thring, Rudolf Von, *Law as Means to an End*, New York, 1924. pp. 67-68.

" ....the individual apart from the society is an abstraction... ... "

" the society apart from its members is a myth........" R. Laksmikantan, 'Dharma as an Ethical Ideal' *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, 18th Session, Annamalainagar 1958, p. 401.

2 cf, Sorokin P. *Social and Cultural Mobility*, pp. 13f; Mac Iver, R.M. & Page, C M., *Society*, London, 1959, pp. 5-6; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 5, p. 418.

3 See, Mukerjee, Radha Kamal, *The Social Structure of Values*, Delhi, 1965. pp. 48-49; Lillie, William, *An Introduction to Ethics*, (Reprint) Delhi, 1975, pp. 52-53.

4 Devaraj, N. K., *Philosophy, Religion and Culture*—Varanasi, 1974, p. 1; see also, Pande, G. C., 'Buddhist Occumenism and National Culture,' paper presented to the First International Conference on 'Buddhism and National Culture,' Oct. 10-15, 1984. Delhi.

5 '*dharmo hi teṣāmadhiko viśeṣo, dharmeṇa hīnāḥ paśubhiḥ samānāḥ.*'

form, a society differentiates itself from other societies on the basis of its value-system which is exhibited through the patterns and habits of behaviour, mode of living and thinking adopted by its members and the web of relationship between its constituents and so many other things, a collective term for which has been coined as 'Social Structure'.[6] Value system and Structure of a society are, thus, interdependent and interrelated.[7] It is the Value-system which forms the basis of a 'structure' and it is the 'structure' into which accepted values of a society are actualised.[8] There is a relation of mutual dependence between the two[9] and the present paper seeks to bring into light this thread of relation in the specific context of ancient Indian society.

Unlike ancient Greeks who, following Aristotle, defined man as a political animal[10] resulting into developing an inseperable relation between man and society,[11] for the word 'Polis' for Greeks of those days carried a meaning more social than political,[12] ancient Indian people could be able to conceive of a primitive age of human existence when there was no society and people lived as perfectly independent individuals enjoying all pleasures of life and having no knowledge of any sorrow or pain.[13] This primitive age has been termed as *Kṛta-yuga* in ancient Indian literature and traditions and though we cannot identify this primitive age with any of the historical ages, its importance lies in the fact that it mythically illustrates the basic values which a society is ideally expected to achieve and which is the characteristic of Indian Culture.[14] If taking man as a political or social animal could lead ancient Greeks to consider the development of society and state, as the ultimate end of human life,[15] it was their faith in the perfection and purity of human nature on account of which ancient Indian people could be able to think beyond the narrow empirical limits and succeed in evolving a spiritual outlook[16] resulting into the development of a supramundane objective as the ultimate end of life.[17] The basic difference between these two ancient cultures is, thus, the difference of approach towards human life and the world.[18] This is why if developing society and state was considered as a sign of progress for Greeks and Greek-based Western Cultures, it was taken to be a fall[19] from the ideal individualistic state of *Kṛtayuga* to the ancient Indians who believed in a dharma-based four-yuga theory and for whom ultimate end of life, viz, *Mokṣa*, was nothing but a state of perfection which could be achieved only through individual efforts.[20] Society and state are of no help in this regard. Their roles are only of managerial nature creating favourable conditions by providing basic requirements to the seekers of that ultimate end and nothing else.[21] With such a Value (Dharma)-dominated approach to life, it was but natural for ancient Indian myth-makers to conceive of a primitive age, ruled by *dharma*,[22] when men lived as independent individuals and society had not come into existence[23] owing to complete self-dependence of those individuals for the fulfilment of even their biological needs.[24] Society, according to these traditions, clearly found in the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, came into existence as a result of the physical dependence of those 'independent' individuals for their basic requirements[25] which were now difficult to be fulfilled owing to the scarcity in natural resources which, tradition says, dwindled as the result of growing impurity in human nature[26] compelling them to make efforts to fulfil their needs. *Vārtā*, at this stage appeared as a divine gift[27] which gave a start to agriculture[28] and cattle-rearing[29] that depended on mutual help and co-operation. This paved the way for the development of a group life[30] to transform which into a full-fledged society, an order or system was needed and God once again came to help the people at this juncture and *Varṇāśrama-Vyavasthā*, a more articulate social form, appeared as another divine gift.[31] This carried economic interaction, ensued by *vārtā*, into social interaction of harmony and peaceful co-existence. This four-fold order transformed the aggregate of interacting individuals into a social-system with a definite external structure which centered round its specific value-system underlying it.

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[6] cf. Leach, Edmund R., 'Social Structure' in *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 14, p. 482; Mac Iver, R. M. & Page, C.M., op. cit., p. 137; Mukerjee, Ram Krishna, 'Social Structure in India : The Perspective' *The Presidential Address to Indian Social Science Congress*, 10th session. Allahabad, 1982, p. 2

[7] Classen, Henry J. M. & Skalnik, P., *The Early State*, The Hague, Netherland, 1978, p. 4; see also, Sharma, R. S., *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, (Hindi tr.), Delhi 1978, p. 15.

[8] Mukerjee, Radha Kamal, op. cit., pp. iv, viii.

[9] See, Pande, G. C., *Foundations of Indian Culture*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1984, p. 2.

[10] Barker, E., *The Politics of Aristotle*, Oxford, 1946, pp. Xlix-li : Panikkar, K.M., 'The Hindu Conception of the State' in *Readings in Indian History, Politics and Philosophy* (ed.) K. Satchidanand Murty, London, 1967, p. 135

[11] In the opinion of Aristotle "man without a society is either a beast or god...... ."

See, *Politics*, 1.1.., (Hindi tr.) B. N. Sharma, Lucknow, 1968, p. 87, see also, Sabine, G. H. *A History of Political Theory*, (Indian ed.), Calcutta, 1960, p. 119 ; John Wild, 'The Concept of Man in Greek Thought' in *The Concept of Man* (ed.) S. Radhakrishnan and P. T. Raju, London, 1966, p. 95.

[12] See Hooper, F., *The Greek Realities*, Newyork, 1967, pp. 430-31; Pant, A. D., *A Critical Study of the Arthaśāstra Tradition in Ancient Indian Political Thought*, D. Litt. Thesis (unpublished) Allahabad, 1966, p. 213.

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[13] Om Prakash, *Political Ideas in the Purāṇas*, Allahabad, 1977, p. 34; for detail, see, Sinha, A. K., *Prācīna Bhāratīya Vaiyaktika evaṃ Sāmājika Mūlyabodha* Allahabad, 1981, First Chapter.

[14] Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 36.

[15] Cf *Politics*, I. 2.; *Encyclopaedia Britanica*, Vol. 2, (1926 ed.), p. 513; Barker, E , op. cit., pp. 355 ff.

[16] ...... ' A spiritual aspiration was the governing force of this (Indian) Culture, its core of thought, its ruling passion. Not only did it make spirituality the highest aim of life, but it even tried, as far as that could be done in the past conditions of the human race to turn the whole of life towards spirituality ".... (bracket is mine)

Aurobindo, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, (Reprint), Pondichery, 1980, p. 121; Radhakrishan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, London, 1948, pp. 25-26.

Defining ' Civilization ', ' Culture ' and ' Spirituality ' G. C. Pande writes—

" The life of man is governed by egoism and the passions. The lower reaches of Culture develop through the increase of man's Power to relate means to ends. This development of the ' technical order ' creates at the collective level what may be called ' civilization.' The ' moral order ' may be said to find a social expression when the awareness of the ' Kingdom of Ends' is clearly realized as a prime social ideal: with this ' higher culture ' may be said to be founded ....Growing moral consciousness evolves diverse forms of inner freedom and selflessness such as discipline and sacrifice. It paves the way for transcendental wisdom and may be called spirituality. On the other hand, the social counterpart of this very consciousness, the institutions as patterns of actions and relations can only be described as ' Culture.'

Pande, G. C,. ' Buddhist Occumenism..—......'

[17] This has been termed as *mokṣa*, *nirvāṇa*, *Kaivalya*, etc. in various traditions of Indian Culture.

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[18] Aurobindo op. cit., p. 121; Pande, G. C. *Bhāratīya Paramparā* Ke *Mūla Svara*, Delhi, 1981, pp. 12-13, 15.

[19] *Āraṇyaka Parva*, 148. 22-34; *Śānti Parva*, 59; 67.14-15; *Manusmṛti*, I.83-85; also see, Pande, G. C., *Bhāratīya Paramparā* .. .., p. 65; Jacobi, H., 'The Ages of the World' (Indian) in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1, New York, 1977, p. 200; Roy, B. P., *Political Ideas and Institutions in the Mahabharata*, p. 88.

[20] For detail, see, Sinha, A. K., *Prācīna Bhāratīya Vaiyaktika evaṃ Sāmājika Mūlyabodha*, IV Chap. '*Vaiyaktika Utkarṣa Kī Parākāṣṭhā aur Uskī Prāpyatā*.'

[21] Gonda, J., *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View*, Leiden, 1969, p. 2; Murty, K. Satchidanand, *The Indian Spirit*, Waltair, p. 89; Varma, V. P., *Studies in Hindu Political Thought and Its Metaphysical Foundations*, Varanasi, 1969, p. 254.

[22] '*dharmeṇaiva prajāḥ sarvāḥ, rakṣanti sma parasparam*,' *Śānti-parva*, 59.14; 70 8-13.

[23] Om Prakash, *Political Ideas in the Purāṇas*, p. 34.

[24] *Śāntiparva*, 70.8-12; 200.34-35; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 1.8.44 ff; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 46.11 ff; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 1.7.39 ff; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, 1.29.14.

Similar myths and beliefs are found in most of the old civilizations of the world.

For a detailed information see, Thomas, P., *Epics, Myths and Legends of India*, Bombay, p. 5; Jacobi, H., 'The Ages of the World' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1, p. 200.

As we have already indicated, the four-yuga theory which starts with an account of *Kṛtayuga* or *Satyayuga* as the primary state of human existence, sometimes depicted as State of Nature, is primarily a mythological account and it is difficult to establish its historicity;[32] yet adopting a critical and analytical approach towards it, we may find a key to begin our study of Indian society with its structural-cum-functional origin. This key is the dynamic concept of

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[25] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 46.63 f; *Vāyu*, 1.8. 134-139; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 1.7. 138f; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 40.

[26] *Śāntiparva*, 59. 17-20; 70. 15; 122. 20; *Vāyu*, I. 8. 80-84; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 1.7.7 7-81; *Kūrma*, I. 29. 22 ff.

[27] " *Tataḥ sa tāsāṃ Vṛtyarthaṁ Vārtopāyaṃ Cakāra ha.*" *Vāyu* 1.8.141 f; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 1.7. 141 f.

" *Kṛtvā dvandvopaghātam te Vārtopāyam acintayan*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* 46. 55.

[28] ' *Tataḥ Prabhṛty-athauṣadhayaḥ Kṛṣṭapacyastu jajñire......* '.

Vāyu, 1.8. 42.

[29]. As Cattle-rearing is closely associated with agriculture and the term '*Vārtā*' includes the two, the beginning of Cattle-rearing may also be taken as having started with the introduction of *Vārtā*, though the Purāṇas make no clearcut reference to it.

[30] *Vāyu.*, 1.7. 19-25; 1.8. 22-27; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 1.6. 20-27; 1.7. 22-27; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 40;

cf., Kosambi, D. D., *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outlines*,

(Hindi tr.). Delhi, 1977, p. 40.

[31]. *Śāntiparva*, 59. 140; *Vāyu*, 1 8. 141 f, 153 f, 159; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 1.7. 141 f, 151 ff.

[32] cf. Sabine, G. H., op. cit., p. 526.

'*Dharma*'[33] on the basis of which the four-yuga theory has been established and which is the essence of Indian culture and society.[34] Though scholars have defined this term in so many ways, a common point in all such definitions is that *dharma* stands for the good and right in any perspective. Whatever is right and good is *dharma* and its contrary is *adharma*.[35] As good and right are relative terms, they are to be taken in relation with human life. Thus the simplest definition of *Dharma* may be given as whatever is good and right for the sake of the existence of human life and the world is *dharma* and its contrary is *adharma*.[36] This definition of *dharma* may be correlated with the traditional notion which conceptualises *dharma* as '*dhāraṇāddharmaṃityāhuṛ dharmo dhārayate prajāḥ*'.[37] This dynamic concept of *dharma* has been very much responsible for each and every development in all walks of Indian life and Indian social-structure also has never been indifferent to it. *Dharma* is, thus, the basic value which, according to Indian traditions, distinguishes man from animals, otherwise, on the biological level of consciousness, they two are one and the same.[38]

Though there can be no denial of the fact that the Indus valley people had a social organisation, we in the present state of our knowledge, can say nothing with certainty regarding its structure and value-system which interacting with the historical and social realities would have played a very important role in giving that structure a definite shape underlying the basic values of those people.

The *Ṛgveda* as the earliest source of our information regarding all social, political and cultural developments of ancient Indian people throws a flood of light on the interrelation of values and social-structure through a proper study of which we may be able to know the various stages of social formation *vis-a-vis* evolution of their value-system. A thorough and careful study of the *Ṛgveda* would reveal that the people of those early days had a strong world-affirming attitude having no interest in any other-worldly affair.[39] They wished happy long life, cows, wealth, sons and all other means of worldly enjoyment[40] and it was but a natural phenomenon for a people who had to be settled in a foreign land in an unwelcomed atmosphere as problems of life could not be solved with a world-negating attitude. The earliest passages of the *Ṛgveda* undoubtedly show that the life of the people of those early days was full of difficulties and hardships. They had to face a very strong resistance from the original inhabitants.[41] A large number of hymns of the *Ṛgveda* remind us of the various wars of the *Āryans* fought against their non-āryan enemies.[42] Examples of wars between two or more *Āryan janas* may also be found in the *Ṛgveda*.[43] Victory in these wars was the most desirable thing for them because it not only brought material gains[44] for them but also guaranteed their own existence. In such a warful atmosphere each and every aspect of life would have, naturally, been influenced with war, the prime means of achieving material gains[45] and also guaranteeing one's own existence then considered to be the most desirable value of life which influenced their social development too.[46]

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[33] *bhavatyadharmo dharmo hi dharmādharmāvubhāvapi / Kāraṇāddeśa-kālasya deśakālau sa tādṛsaḥ // Mahābhārata*, See also, Beni Prasad, *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, (Reprint), Allahabad, 1974, p. XV.

[34] "........the idea of dharma........became ingrained in Indian society as the fundamental and indispensable structure of the Culture........."

Dasgupta, S. N. and De, S. K., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1947, p., xxviii.

[35] *Śāntiparva*, 110. 10, 24; Dasgupta, Surama, *Development of Moral Philosophy in India*, Bombay, 1961, pp., 15, 91.

[36] See, Creel, A. B., *Dharma in Hindu Ethics*, Calcutta, 1977, pp. 86-87.

[37] *Śāntiparva*, 110. 11

See also, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, 10.63. 1; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Upaniṣad*, 1.4. 16; Lingat, R., *The Classical Law of India* (Eng. tr.) J.D.M. Derrett, London, 1973, p. 3.

[38] *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, 2.3.2; see, Hiriyanna. M., *Indian Conception of Values*, Mysore, 1975, pp. 5,6, 8-9; Pande, G. C., *Mūlya-Mīmāṃsā*, Jaipur, 1973, p. 30.

It would be evident from a content-wise analysis of the Ṛgvedic materials that the society reflected through it was a society in fluid state. The earliest passages of the *Ṛgveda* reflect a tribal (though not in the strict sense of the word) form of the society[47] whereas in the *Puruṣasūkta* we find the germs of a four-fold society originated from a divine being.[48] Between these two phases of social development is also seen a transitional phase in which the Āryans have been shown as trying to be settled in a conquered land after defeating their non-āryan enemies and developing a full-fledged social-system, later known as *Varṇa-Vyavasthā.* The event of ten-king war on the bank of Paruṣṇī river may be taken as a line of demarcation between these two phases. While traces of the earliest phase may go back to the Indo-European days, the latest development, i.e , the development of a four-fold system, based on division of labour, could take place only after the victory of king Sudāsa in *Dāśarājña* war because it was only with this victory that the *Āryan*s could be able to move towards the mainland for settling themselves in the conquerred area.[49]

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[39] Raju, P. T., 'The concept of Man in Indian Thought' in *The Concept of Man* (ed.) S. Radhakrishnan and P. T. Raju, London, 1966, p. 233; Kunhanraja, C., *Vedas*, Waltair, 1957, p. 186.

[40] *Ṛgveda*, I. 79.4, 89. 1,92.13, 157.2; III. 1.19; IV. 8.7; V. 10.1, 23.2; VI. 10.5, 16.20; VII. 41.3, 72.1: VIII. 5.10, 15; 9.20; 44.30, 68.12; IX. 4.3, 13.5.

[41] Chakraborti, H., *Vedic India—Political and Legal Institutions in Vedic Literature*, Calcutta, 1981, p. 28.

[42] *Ṛgveda*, I. 43.8, 130.7; II. 14.6, 19.6; IV. 16.13, 30.21.

[43] *Ṛgveda*, IV. 33.3, quoted by Chakraborti, H., op. cit, p. 57, fn. 5.

[44] *Ṛgveda*, 10.101. 7; *Atharvaveda*, 20.11. 9-11; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 5.22.6; Roy, B. P., *Later Vedic Economy*, Patna, 1984, p. 84.

[45] " The term *Pradhana* is a synonym of battle because property was obtained by it. Dhanañjaya was an epithet of Indra on account of obtaining wealth in the battle..... The booty was an important prospect of battle. "

Roy, B. P., *Later Vedic Economy*, p. 84.

[46] Cf. Hopkins, E. W., *The Social and Military Positions of the Ruling Castes in Ancient India*. Varanasi, 1972, pp. 125 f.

As alredy said, Ṛgvedic Āryans were more interested in worldly objects than any other-worldly thing and the prime means for achieving such objects was war, therefore, war acted as a decisive factor in their social life and those who were directly related to war were given more importance than others in the society.[50] The most important position of Indra in the Rgvedic gods[51] may be used to infer that the military leader of a *jana*, was given the most important position and this leads us to a logical conclusion that the social importance of a people was decided on account of his association with war or military activities. Thus the most important position in a '*jana*' was occupied by warriors who owned the responsibility of not only bringing material prosperity to their *jana* but also protecting it from external attacks.[52] This fact might, again, be supported by the important positions of chariot-makers and weapon-makers in the later Vedic texts where they have been included in the list of *Ratnins*[53] owing to their important professions, closely associated with war.[54] It may be said that their importance in later Vedic period was not a sudden development as in the later days they were included in Śūdras;[55] their important position in the later Vedic society was nothing but a continuation of their social importance in the earliest days.[56] War thus played an important role in the social life of those early people and one's position in his *jana* depended mainly, on his ability as warrior.[57] The ablest person was chosen as *janapati* or the leader of *jana* who[58] was considered to be responsible for all the internal and external troubles[59] and to fulfil his responsibility sometimes he had to seek divine help too. Whether he sought this divine help through some mediator or by personal efforts,[60] is yet to be decided and we would discuss it elsewhere, but what can be said with certainty is that the office of the priest originated from this responsibility,[61] which, in later times, acted as the most important factor in shaping a '*jana*' society into the *varṇa* society with a definite structure of its own.

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[47] Romila Thapar prefers to name it as 'Lineage Society' on certain grounds , See, Thapar, Romila. *From Lineage to State*, Delhi, 1984, p 18.

[48] *Ṛgveda*, X. 90.

[49] See, Ragozin, Z. A., *Vedic India*, Delhi, 1961, p. 332; Sharma, U.C., *The Dāśarājña War*, Aligarh. 1985, p. 28.

[50] Cf. Gokhale, B. G., *Ancient India—History and Culture*, (Reprint) Bombay, 1970 p. 24; Hopkins E. W., op. cit, pp. 20-21; Roy, B. P. op. cit. p. 83.

[51] "Indra is the greatest god of the Vedic Āryans. About 250 whole songs are addressed to Indra among the 1017 hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. There are individual verses also where the prayers are addressed to him, in other hymns. He is an ancient god, the greatest of the Āryan gods ... ... " Kunhanraja, C., op. cit., p. 34; Cf. also, Chattopadhyay, K., *Studies in the Vedic and Indo-Iranian Religion and Literature*, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1977, pp. 101-102.

[52] Anand, S., *Kṣatriyas in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1985, p. 11.

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[53] *Maitrāyiṇī Saṃhitā*, II. 6.5; IV. 3.8; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 3. 1. 1. ff; V. 4. 4. 7; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, 1. 8. 9. 1. ff; Sharma, R. S., *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi, p. 139; Roy, B. P., *Later Vedic Economy* p. 139.

[54] Sharma, R. S., *Light on Early Indian Economy and Society*, (Hindi tr.). Delhi, p. 46; Mishra, R. C., 'Social Status of Architect, Carpenter and Chariot Makers in Ancient India' paper presented to the 10th Indian Social Science Congress, Jan 27-30, 1985, Allahabad.

[55] Altekar, A. S., 'Vedic Society' in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. 1, (Reprint), Calcutta, 1982. p. 228.

[56] Ghoshal, U. N., *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 306; Sharma, R. S , *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, p. 139; Roy, B, P., *Later Vedic Economy*, p. 139.

[57] Durant, Will, *Our Oriental Heritage*, New York, 1954, pp. 21, 23; Sharma, R. S., *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, p. 271.

[58] Drekmeier, C., *Kingship and Community in Early India*, Bombay, 1962, p. 19; Chakraborti, H., op. cit., p. 59.

[59] Chakraborti, H., op. cit., p. 58.

[60] Though there are a number of evidences which indicate that there were priests who sought divine help by performing sacrifices on behalf of the *Janapati* or kings, yet, the possibility of the priest-king, like some other ancient societies, can not be totally ruled out in the earliest Indian Social structure cf., Kosambi, D. D., *An Introduction to Indian History*, (II ed.), Bombay, 1975, p. 24; Basu, P., *The Indo-Aryan Polity-Ṛgvedic Period*, Delhi, 1977, p. 13;

Clayton, A. C., *The Ṛgveda and the Vedic Religion* (Reprint) Delhi, 1984, p. 14; Deshmukh, P. R., *Indus Civilization, Ṛgveda and the Hindu Culture*, Nagpur, 1982, p. 377; also see, Sinha, A. K., 'Dharma' Rājadharma and Process of State-Formation in Ancient India.' *Bharati*, Vol. 1, Varanasi, 1983, p. 52.

With the victory of king Sudāsa in the famous ten-king war, the process of expansion, both area-wise and population-wise, began, which led to a reshaping in the mental and social set-up of the people of those days. Ambition to rule over a vast area led to the process of transformation from tribal to territorial state[62] which could be possible only through conquests now depending more on divine help than one's own strength and valour.[63] This resulted into an increase in divine intervention which necessitated the development of a group of experts in divine affairs i.e., the priests,[64] who sought help of gods through performance of sacrifices for the victory of *janapati* and welfare of the *jana*. It is not to say that the office of the priest originated after Sudāsa's victory as the *Ṛgveda* clearly mentions names of Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmītra as priests even before this war, but, what is to be emphasised here is that Sudāsa's victory created a favourable atmosphere for the development of a priestly culture, (the 'germs of which were already there) that dominated the whole scene in later days.[65] With the development of this priestly group, the Āryan stock became clearly divisible into three groups,[66] one specialised in rituals, the other in war and the third which included the rest of the population. This division which might have originated (but not as a formal social group) in earlier days, now came to appear as the basis of a three-fold social-structure with *Brahma*, *Kṣatra* and *viś* as its three constituents and has been mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* as the earliest Indian social-structure. *Brahma*, in this structure, occupied the most important position on account of his being related to divine affairs[67] and without whose help security and prosperity of the *jana* was not possible in spite of all efforts of the warrior. Next to him was the *Kṣatra* or warrior (sometimes *rājanya*), who had responsibility of protecting his *jana* from all external and internal disturbances.[68] This change on social level was a direct result of a change in the nature of the highest value which, though, still taken as enjoying maximum worldly pleasures, had adopted a heavenly coverage on account of its having been considered as divine blessing. The values of life thus shifted from earthly to the heavenly level and although attaining maximum sensuous pleasures was still considered to be the ultimate value, it culminated in the developing concept of '*Svarga*'[69] which could be achieved only through performance of sacrifices. The performance of sacrifices acted on the both levels, if on one hand it was essential for seeking divine help to achieve victory in wars,[70] it was taken to be the only means for achieving heavelny gains, on the other. If in early days war was the prime means to safeguard the interest of the people, it was the performance of the sacrifices, that was considered to be the only means for achieving not only earthly but also heavenly gains in the later days.[71] As war in the earlier days was a central point around which the process of social formation was going on, it was the *Yajña* which played the most important role in this process in the later days and social importance of a person was determined on the basis of his closeness with it.[72] This tells us why the priests, later the Brāhmaṇas,[73] occupied the highest position in the society in the later phase of the early Vedic age.[74]

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[61] Clayton, A. C., op. cit., p. 106; Deshmukh, P. R., op. cit., p. 377.

[62] " .... in the latest portion of the *Ṛgveda* (X. 173. 1-2) the king is asked to uphold the *rāṣṭra* or kingdom, which suggests that the territorial idea appears at the end of the period."

Sharma, R. S., *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, p. 266; Rao, V. B., *Uttar Vedic Samāja evaṃ Sanskṛti : Ek Adhyayana*, Varanasi, 1966, p. 163; Roy. B. P., *Later Vedic Economy*, p. 7.

[63] Actually this strength or valour also was considered as a divine gift for which they prayed to gods.

See, *Ṛgveda*, III. 53.18; also, Pavgee, N. B., *Self-Government in India — Vedic and Post-Vedic*, (Reprint), Delhi, 1980, pp. 57 ff.

[64] Clayton, A. C., op. cit., p. 14; Chakraborti, H., op. cit., p. 50; Gokhale, B. G., op. cit , p. 25.

[65] Cf., Clayton, A. C., op. cit., pp. 40f ; Ghosh, R. C., *History of Hindu Civilization*, (Reprint) Delhi, 1985, p. 210.

[66] It appears that there were only two groups, *Brahma* and *Kṣatra*, which have been mentioned in the Bṛhaspati Hymn of the *Ṛgveda*. *Ṛgveda*, 4. 50. 8; quoted by Basu, J., *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, Delhi, p. 9.

The term *viś* has been used not for a specific group of people, but, it exclusively included all those who were not considered to be the members of the above two groups.

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[67] *Kane, P. V. History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. 1, Pt.1, (Hindi tr.), Lucknow, 1980, p. 111.

[68] *Ibid*; Anand, S , op. cit., pp. 2 f.

[69] "The word '*Svarga*' does not appear in the *Ṛgveda* but what is meant by *Svarga*, comes within the Ṛgvedic thought." Kunhanraja, C, op. cit, p. 206, fn., 47.; " . .. the *Ṛgveda* gives us a picture of heaven as a place of 'everlasting lustre:' an 'eternal undecaying world' where there is 'food and full delight'. ... .. Drekmeier, C., op. cit., pp. 13 f.

[70] Basham, A. L., *Wonder That was India*, p. 241.

[71] Chattopadhyay, K., *Studies in Vedic and Indo-Iranian Religion and Culture* Vol.. 1, (ed.) Vidya Niwas Mishra, Delhi, 1976, p. 114.

[72] Ghosh, R. C., op. cit., p. 216.

[73] *Ibid.* p. 215; Basham, A.L., op. cit., p. 140.

[74] Clayton A.C., op. cit., pp. 106 f.

This shift from earthly to heavenly value of life established the supremacy of the priests in the social structure of that time because it was they who acted as the main participants in every act performed for achieving success in all spheres of life, and even success in war,[75] considered earlier as the only means for achieving material prosperity and guaranteeing the existence of a people resulting into a socially important position of the *janapati* and warriors, was also not possible without the help of the priest who sought divine help for this purpose through performance of sacrifices and without the help of gods nothing could be done with success. This supremacy of priests in the social structure was again established with the emergence of the concept of *Ṛta* as Cosmic Law which governed the cosmic process and ruled over gods too.[76] *Yajña*, to which priest was inseparably related, was thought to be an earthly manifestation of the cosmic process,[77] i.e., creation,[78] and rules relating to it were taken as representing *Ṛta*.[79] *Dharma* as code of rules relating to sacrifices was thus, earthly representation of *Ṛta*.[80] The sense of 'upholding', 'maintaining', 'regulating', etc., inherent in the word '*Dharma*'[81] was, thus, symbolised in the nature of *Ṛta*. If *Ṛta* regulated the universe, *Yajña* regulated human life and the world.[82] As priests were directly concerned to *Yajña*, indirectly they were related to *Ṛta*. This doubly established supremacy of the priests, later of the Brāhmaṇas, got an increase with an increase in ritual complexity, and then came a day in the later Vedic age when they attained the status of 'gods on earth.'[83]

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[75] Basu, J., op. cit., 25 f.

[76] Zimmerman, R, 'The Evidence of the Ṛk., Text for the meaning of Ṛta' *Proceedings of the Fifth All India Oriental Conference*, Vol. 1, Lahore, 1930, p. 216: Bloomfield, M., *Religion of the Veda*, Delhi, 1972, p. 26; Mazumdar, R. C., (ed.) *The Vedic Age*, Bombay, 1971, p. 369;

[77] Nikam, N. A., *Some Concepts of Indian Culture* (II ed.), Simla, 1973, p. 3.

[78] Zimmerman, R., op. cit., p. 217; Marina, L., 'The Concept of Tapas according to the Ṛgveda' in *Proceedings of All-India Oriental Conference*, 24th session, Poona, 1972, p. 230.

[79] cf., Barth, A., *Religions of India*, London, 1882, p. 377; Basu, J., op. cit., p. 141.

[80] Organ, T. W., *The Hindu Quest for the Perfection of Man*, Athens, 1970, p. 211; Bhagvan Das, *The Science of Social Organisation*, Vol. 1, (II ed.), Madras, 1910, pp. 49 f.

[81] *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, 10.63. 1; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 1.4. 16; *Mahābhārata*, 12.110. 11.

[82] *Ṛgveda*, 4.10.2; see also, Om Prakash 'Order in Vedic Perspective' paper to be published.

[83] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 4.3.4.4; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, 1.2.6 7; *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, 2.15; Macdonald, K, S., *The Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas*, Delhi, 1979, p. 103.

The process of social formation seems to have achieved its shape in the later days of the Ṛgvedic period. A decrease in the frequent number of wars had created a comparatively peaceful atmosphere in which some constructive and creative efforts could be made.[84] The tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda* reflects a very clear picture of the settled life of the people. Importance of articulture was now known to them[85] and germs of a four-fold social-structure leading to the development of a social-system, later known as *Varṇa*-system, had come into existence. The four constituents of this structure viz, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Rājanya* (later *Kṣatriya*), *Vaiśya* and the *Śūdra*, have been referred to as originated from the parts of the cosmic person[86] and it helps us to think that importance of friendship and mutual co-operation in the formation of a stable society was being realised and the inclusion of the non-āryan elements into this Āryan system confirms this fact when we see that the non-āryans were included in this structure as the members of not only the fourth *Varṇa*, i.e., the *Śudra Varṇa*, but also of the other three *Varṇas*.[87] This fact may again be confirmed by the existence of non-āryan sages,[88] (eg. Mahīdhara, Satyakāma Jābāla, etc.) and the performance of sacrifices by non-āryan kings from whom Vedic priests received gifts.[89] Various stories regarding the unnatural birth of several Vedic seers also indicate this mixture of non-āryan elements[90] into ancient Indian social-structure which, for the first time, appeared in *Puruṣasūkta* and later proved itself as the backbone of Indian society.

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[84] See, Chattopadhyay, K., *Studies in Vedic and Indo-Iranian Religion and Culture*, Vol. 1, Varanasi, 1976, p. 115.

[85] *Ṛgveda*, 3.2.15; 10.34.13; 101; See also, Mazumdar, G. P. 'Origin and Development of Agriculture in Ancient India' in *Proceedings of All-India Oriental Conference*, 1951. Pt III, pp. 113-116; Ganguli, R., 'Cultivation in Ancient India' in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, (Reprint), Delhi, 1985, pp. 737 ff.

[86] *Ṛgveda*, X. 90.12; *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, 5.7.6. 3-4.

[87] Pargiter, F. E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 306-308; Sharma, R. N., *Brahmins Through the Ages*., Delhi, pp. 2-3.

[88] Names of Kaṇva, Dīrghatamas, Kakṣīvant and Aṅgiras may be quoted in this connection who have been credited for composing various Ṛgvedic hymns and have been called as 'black seers' in the *Ṛgveda* itself. Sharma, R. S., *Śudras in Ancient India*, (II ed.), Delhi, 1980, pp. 22 f; Shrimali, K. M., *History of Pancala*, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1983, p. 24.

[89] The *Ṛgveda* (8.46.32) speaks of "the priestly acceptance of gifts from the Dāsa chiefs such as Balbutha and Taruksa which earned them unstinted praises, and validated their status in the new order."

Sharma, R. S., *Śūdras* ...... p. 23.

[90] Kosambi, D. D., *Culture and Civilization of India in Historical Outlines*, (Hindi tr.) p. 105.

The later phase of the Ṛgvedic period initiated a significant increase in the ritual complexity which later dominated the whole scene.[91] The later Vedic period witnessed an age in which each and every aspect of life was influenced by sacrifices[92] and the same was the case in the social sphere too. Association with sacrificial affairs was considered to be the most important factor in determining one's social status[93] and as a result of it, the social 'structure,' having embraced itself with a theoretical basis (of one's sacrificial ability), achieved the status of a system, viz, *Varṇa* system, in which social importance of a person was recognised on the basis of his closeness with sacrificial affairs and his position in the society was allotted accordingly.[94] As priests were the main participants in the performance of sacrifices and in their absence no sacrifice could be performed, they emerged as the most important group occupying the topmost position in the society[96] and as the main participants in the performance of sacrifices they were expected to prove themselves as experts in sacrificial affairs which was not possible without having an excellence in Vedic learning.[97] This caused a broadening in the priestly group and it transformed itself into the first of the four *Varṇas*, Viz. the Brāhmaṇa[98] *Varṇa*, where 'Brāhmaṇa' meant 'one who knows

Though initially the priesthood was not confined to the Brāhmaṇas alone

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91 *Ṛgveda*, 1.104.5; 10-130.1; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says, " .... And thus whatever exists here on the earth all that is admitted to sacrifice. .." *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 3.6.2.26.

92 Chattopadhyay, K., op. cit., p. 113.

93 Sinha, A. K., *Prācīna Bhāratīya Vaiyaktika evaṃ Sāmājika Mūlyabodha* Allahabad, 1981, p. 22.

94 Descriptions relating to the origin of the different *Varṇas* from the different Vedas (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.12.9) and different *mantras* (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 5.12; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 5.4.6.9) can be taken as examples in this connection making it clear why Brāhmaṇa was placed at the top and the Śūdra who did not originate from any of the two, was given the lowest position in the *varṇa* system.

95 For an opposite view, see, Heesterman, J. C., *The Inner Conflict of Tradition*, Chicago, 1985, p. 38,

96 Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Pt. I, (Hindi tr.) (III ed.), Lucknow, 1980, p. 111.

97 Pande, G. C., *Foundations of Indian Culture—Dimensions of Ancient Indian Social History*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 181-182.

98 Potdar, K. R., *Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda*, Bombay, 1953, p. 140; Basham, A. L., op. cit, p. 142.

the Brahma'[99] and the 'Brahma' stood for 'knowledge' (of Prayers, *mantras* and other things related to sacrifices.[100]) Knowledge, of course, of sacrificial affairs, was, thus, the main value which now influenced the social structure and all those who possessed knowledge and took active participation in the performance of sacrifices were, irrespective of their origin, called Brāhmaṇa[101] and occupied the topmost position in the society and some of them were known as *Ṛṣis* also.[102] Names of Vyāsa and Mahīdhara, the author of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, who were the sons of women of low origin, may be taken as examples in this regard. Brāhmaṇa was one who gave primacy to knowledge[103] over other worldly things; Kṣatriya and Vaiśya were those who, though, not opposed to knowledge but gave primacy to the worldly things; and Śūdra was one who totally lacked knowledge and hence has been termed as *asita* or *tamas* in later traditions which,

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and we have references to some non-brāhmaṇa priests, e.g, Viśwāmitra and Devāpi, even in the *Ṛgveda*, but, as Iyengar thinks, this was exception and generally Brāhmaṇas acted as priests. See, Iyengar, P.T.S., *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, Delhi, 1982. p. 42.

[99] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 6.6.1-4; see also, Mazumdar. R. C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, (III ed.), Calcutta, 1969. pp. 316-317; Basham, A. L., op. cit., p. 241.

[100] Kane, P. V., op. cit., p. 111.

[101] In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (11.6.2.10) Kṣatriya King Janaka has been declared to be a brāhmaṇa on account of his spiritual attainment and knowledge par excellence.

See, Sharma, R. N., *Brahmins Through the Ages*, Delhi, 1977, p. 1; Basham, A. L., op. cit., p. 241.

[102] The names of Kavaṣa and Mahīdhara may be cited in this connection who were declared as seers by the brāhmin priests and who have been credited for composing Vedic texts.

See, *Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa* 12.3; Basu, J., *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas*, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 29-31.

[103] "The Brāhmaṇa............had a high ideal of intellectual attainments, he craved for attaining the power of speaking "brilliant words among the people" (A.V. IV. 69.2); he strove to attain "the wisdom (*medhā*) that the Ṛbhus know, the wisdom that the Asuras know, the excellent wisdom that the seers know" (A.V. IV. 109.3). He prayed for the keenness of Perception (*ākūti*), for high thoughts (*cittam*), for the desire (*Kāma*) that stimulates intellectual greatness (AV., XIX. 4.2, 4), for the increase of wisdom (AV., XIX. 4.1), for the unbroken continuance in him of that knowledge and power (*brahma*) which would enable him always to remain an ideal Brāhmaṇa" Iyengar, P.T.S., op. cit., p. 44.

though, apparently means darkness, has variously been used for ignorance.[104] The relative social importance of the members of the four *varṇa*s laid in their association with knowledge, the supreme value of that time and with this the social structure tended to convert itself into a 'system' with its theoretical basis which, with some variations that arose into it in the course of time, lasted for a long period.

The development of a sacrificial culture in the first phase of the later Vedic age showed a dominance of ritual aspect over theoretical aspect of sacrifice[105] which, regarded earlier as a source of creation,[106] was now reduced to some mechanical process[107] for fulfilling one's interests (sometimes even personal) indicating a triumph of factual forces over values.[108] As *Yajña* was considered as a source of social system too,[109] the change in the nature of sacrifices made an impact in the social sphere also. Birth instead of knowledge (or *Karma*) was made a permit of the membership of higher *varṇa*s and for claiming the privileges given to these. This brought a change in the *varṇa* system.[110] It now came to appear as a hereditary system in which one's social status was determined on the basis of his origin and not on his personal ability. This converted the *varṇa* system from an open[111] to a closed system in which many restrictions were imposed resulting into the development of a sense of hierarchy with a bitterness in the mutual relations of the members of these *varṇa*s.[112] It paved the way for the development of parallel social-system, i.e., caste-system in the society (the seeds of which were already there) which dominated and ultimately replaced the *varṇa* system, at least on factual level, later on.

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[104] *Mahābhārata*, 12.188.5; see Nilakaṇṭha's Commentary also.; *Bhagvadgītā* 14.8.; *Manu.*, 12.29.

[105] Gokhale, B. G., op. cit., p. 51;

[106] *Ṛgveda*, X 90.

[107] Das, A. C., *Ṛgvedic Culture*, Delhi, 1979, p. 509, Chattopadhyay. K., op. cit , p. 16.

[108] cf., Mazumdar, R. C. (ed.) *The Vedic Age*, Bombay, 1971. pp. 445-447, Pande, G. C., *Buddha Dharma Ke Vikāsa Kā Itihāsa*, (II ed.), Lucknow, 1976. pp. 9-10.

[109] Gokhale, B. G., op. cit., p. 25.

[110] Sinha, A. K., *Prācīna Bhāratīya Vaiyaktika evam Sāmājika Mūlyabodha*, II ch.

[111] cf, Cooley, C. H.. *Social Organisation*, New York, 1909, p. 21; Prabhu, P. H., *Hindu Social Organisation*, p. 316.

[112] Murty, K. Satchidanand, *Indian Spirit*, Waltair, 1965, pp.. 196-197.

At the peak of ritual complexity, there arose a natural reaction against it in the next phase and the age of the Āraṇyakas initiated a search for eternity[112a] and at an advanced stage in this process sacrifices were given a symbolical meaning[113] which led to the development of the concepts life *Antaryajña* and *Manoyajña* that brought the physical performance of sacrifices to a mental plane[114] and declared the physical expression of the sacrifices as unnecessary.[115] Thus, theorisation of sacrifices started. But this did not stop here and in a further advancement to this quest (of eternity) there came a point at which all meaningfulness of sacrifices was questioned[116] and the search for eternity continued until it reached at its end with the development of the concepts of *Brahman*, *Ātman*[116a] and *Mokṣa* in the Upaniṣads which chronologically come after the Āraṇyakas and in which Āraṇyaka's quest for eternity achieved a climax with the development of the concept of *Brahman* as the most eternal and ultimate reality[117] and establishing an inseparablity of *Brahman* and *Ātman*[118] where *Brahman* denoted the Universal self and the *Ātman* the individual self,[119] but, in essence the two are one and the realisation of this inseparable unity between the two is the ultimate end of life, termed as *mokṣa*.[120] *Mokṣa* is thus, nothing but the realisation of this inseparable unity between the *Brahman* and the *Ātman* and this again is nothing but self-realisation[121] which is possible neither through sacrifices nor through knowledge only but through wisdom.[122] Considering *mokṣa* as the ultimate end of human life and wisdom as the prime means to achieve it, Upaniṣads declared wisdom as the supreme value which dominated all other values and in this way they played a dominant role in establishing a priorty of *śreya* over *preya*.[123] This influenced the social life too and

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[112a] The germs of this tendency had already come into existence during the last phase of Ṛgvedic period.

Paul Deussen Writes :—

" .... In the *Ṛgveda* we find a remarkable seeking and enquiring after that one from which, as an eternal, unspeakable unity, all gods, words and creatures originate ...."

Deussen, P., "Outlines of Indian Philosophy", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIX, (1900), (Reprint) Delhi, 1985, p. 368; see, also, Das A. C , op. cit., p. 509; Mukerjee, R. K., *Hindu Civilization* (Hindi tr.) (5th ed.), Delhi, 1975, p. 106.

[113] Deussen, P., *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* (Eng. tr. by A. S. Gaden), pp. 2-3; quoted by Hiriyanna, M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (Hindi tr.), Delhi, 1973, p. 47; Pande, G. C., *Bauddha Dharma Ke Vikāsa Kā Itihāsa*, Lucknow, 1963, p. 10; Sukhthankar, V. S., *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, Bombay, 1957, pp. 69, 94; Mukerjee, R. K., *Hindu Civilization*, p. 133.

[114] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 1.1.2, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 5.19.24; *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad*, 2,5; Ranade, R. D., *A Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, (Hindi tr.), Jaipur, 1971, p. 6; Hiriyanna, M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, (Hindi tr.), p. 47.

[115] See, Heesterman, J. C., op. cit., p. 39.

[116] *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, 1.2.7; Rao, V. B, *Uttar Vedic Samāj evaṃ Sanskṛit*, Varanasi, 1966, p. 219.

[116a] "The word *Ātman* also occurs in the Pre-Upaniṣadic part of the Veda. Originally, it meant breath, and by gradual stages came to be identified with self or spirit in man and then even with *Brahman* in meaning. It is thought that, in the beginning, the Vedic Āryans, like many other primitive people, did not think of life after death and speak of transmigration; and we may, therefore, conclude that the concept of the *ātman* had its own historical growth.

But finally the *ātman* was understood as the innermost spirit of man and identified with the *Brahman*, or the Supreme Spirit."

Raju, P. T., The *Structural Depths of Indian Thought*, Delhi, 1985, p. 15.

[117] "...........the old ritualistic term *Brahman* (*mantra*) was transferred to the First Cause that the philosophers posited because of its neuter gender and consequent capabilities of suggesting that which is beyond speech and thought.........." Chattopadhyay, K., op. cit, p. 116.

[118] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 2.5.19; Ranade, R. D., *A Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, (II ed.) Bombay, 1968, pp. 221-222; Hiriyanna, M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 55-56; Dasgupta, S. N., *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, (Reprint), Delhi, 1976, pp. 27, 47-48.

[119] Hiriyanna, M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 53-54.

[120] Hiriyanna, M., *Indian Conceptions of Values*, p. 243.

[121] The well-known sayings like '*Tattvamasi*', '*Aham Brahmāsmi*' and emphasis on '*ātmānaṃ viddhi*' in the Upaniṣads are enough to show this development.

See, Aurobindo, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, Pondichery, 1959, p. 114; Hiriyanna, M., *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy*, (III ed.), London, 1956, p. 21, 28.

[122] The difference between knowledge and wisdom can be explained through the difference between *Aparā Vidyā* and *Parā Vidyā*.

Aparā Vidyā has been defined as that knowledge through which only worldly things can be achieved, while, it is *Parā Vidyā* through which is achieved the '*amṛtatva*', immortality or *mokṣa*.

Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, I. 1. 4-5.

[123] The discussions between Maitreyī and Yājñavalkya and Naciketas and Yama in the *Bṛhadāraṇya* and *Kaṭha Upaniṣads* respectively may be taken as examples in this regard.

jñāna, once again came to act as the most important factor in determining one's social status.[124] This answers why in Upaniṣads several persons who belonged to other than *Brāhmaṇa varṇas* have been give a status of *Ṛsi* which was higher than even the Brāhmaṇas,[125] but, which could be achieved by Brāhmaṇas (of course of Brāhmaṇas of theoretical meaning i.e., one possessing wisdom only.[126]) Names of Pravahana Javali, Janaka and Satyakāma Jābāla, etc., may be taken as examples in this connection. There are several references in the Upaniṣads which recognize wisdom as the main factor in determining one's social status. If Upaniṣad said Brāhmaṇa is the highest, it did not mean the brāhmaṇa by birth, it meant those who had realised the Brahma and hence are Brāhmaṇa. *Ṛsi* was one who could be able to see or realise the ultimate reality.[127] Brāhmaṇa and *Ṛsi* in this sense are one and the same and it is in this sense that Kṣatriya Janaka and Pravahana Javali and Śūdra Satyakāma, etc., have been said as *Ṛsis* in the Upaniṣads.

On the factual level, thus there were several developments which influenced the process of social formation and brought from time to time, changes in social structure indicating triumphs of facts over theoretical aspect of society and sometimes it is so clear that it is very difficult to give theoretical justification for these, yet, on the whole, the Indian society had always been influenced with a theoretical bias which gave way to develop a ' structure ' into a system and it is this ' system ' the stability of which has been a subject of great care for ancient Indian thinker even in those days when caste system had replaced the *varṇa* system on the actual plane and the latter had confined itself into the texts only. The factual ' structure ' influenced with some value developed itself into a system and though there were many things out of its fold, the history of the Indian society has mainly been the history of *varṇa* system and here we find the clue that defines the relation of interrelationship between the value and the social structure in ancient India.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 4.6; *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 1.2. 1.

[124] Rao, V. B., op. cit., p. 250.

[125] For the difference between a *Ṛṣi* and a *Brāhmaṇa*, See, Pandey, C. B., *Ṛṣis in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1987, p. 11.

[126] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

[127] .....Commenting on *Ṛgveda*, X. 8, Yāska defines *ṛṣi* as the person who is possessed of vision, who practises austerities and in whom the self-born Brahma manifested himself ".

Pandey, C. B., op. cit., p. 3.

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KÂLIDĀSA AND THE AGNIMITRA PROBLEM

By

SUBHASH C. KAK*

The Agnimitra problem is as follows: If Kālidāsa lived around 400 A.D., as many scholars now believe, why did he write a play on a minor king who had lived more than 500 years earlier? This question is especially significant since Agnimitra is the only historical character in his plays, and one might further ask why did Kālidāsa not use more famous kings and heroes of contemporary times in his plays.

This problem has not been discussed because of the assumptions which lie at the basis of the accepted chronology of Indian literature. However, in recent years, many of these assumptions have been shown to be incorrect. In the absence of any archaeological evidence to support it, the theory of invasion of the Aryans is now characterized as a myth.[1] The Brāhmī script has been shown[2] to be derived from the Indus script of the third millennium B.C. There is reason now[3] to judiciously use the astronomical and literary evidence which suggests greater antiquity for the earliest Indian literature than the arbitrary chronology popularized by Max Müller and his successors.

Furthermore Seidenberg's research has shown[4] that there exist reasons to

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[1] Shaffer, J. G. "The Indo-Aryan invasions: cultural myth and archaeological reality," in *The People of South Asia*, edited by J. R. Lukacs. New York; Plenum, 1984.

[2] Kak, S. C. "A frequency analysis of the Indus script," *Cryptologia*. vol. 12, 1988, pp. 129-143.
Kak, S. C, "Indus writing," *Mankind Quarterly*, vol. 30, 1989, pp. 113-118.
Kak, S. C. "Indus and Brahmi: further connections," *Cryptologia*, vol. 14, 1990, pp. 169-183.

[3] Roy, S. B. "Chronological framework of Indian protohistory—the lower limit," *Journal of the Baroda Oriental Institute*, vol. 32, 1983, pp. 254-274.
Kak, S. C. "On the chronology of ancient India," *Indian Journal of History of Science*, vol. 22, 1987, pp. 222-234.

[4] Seidenberg, A. "The ritual origin of geometry." *Archive for History of Exact Science*, vol. 1, 1962, 488-527.
Seidenberg, A. "The origin of mathematics," *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*. vol. 18, 1978, 301-342.

reopen the question of the dating of the *sūtra* literature. His work shows that the late dating of *śulvasūtras* was partly prompted by the attempt to see an Indian geometry as following the rise of Greek geometry. His demonstration that *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which is conservatively dated centuries before earliest Greek geometry, itself contains Indian geometry compels a new look at the entire question. It also calls for a review of the evidence used to fix the chronology of the literature that followed the *sūtra* period. This provides our motivation to review the controversy related to Kālidāsa's date.

The dating of Kālidāsa poses several interesting problems. The time window to seek Kālidāsa's date is provided by Agnimitra (150 B.C), the subject of his play *Mālavikā and Agnimitra* and the Aihole inscription praising him which is dated 634 A.D. There also exists the tradition associating Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, who is believed to have founded the Vikrama era in 58 or 57 B.C. But this tradition is manifestly late: the earliest account connecting Kālidāsa with Vikrama is by the eleventh century king and author Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*. Legend describes Kālidāsa as one of the nine jewels at the court of King Vikramāditya together with Amarasiṃha, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Vararuci, and Ghaṭakarpara.

The tradition that a Vikramāditya founded the Vikrama era has been traced back only to Saṃvat 1050 (993 A.D.). Initially this era was apparently called the Kṛta era.[5] There exist several inscriptions from 225 A.D. to 424 A.D. that use this name. Later it is called the Mālava era and the earliest reference to this name[6] appears in Saṃvat 428 (371 A.D.). But there is a Jain tradition according to which Vikrama began this era 470 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* which agrees with the dating of 58/57 B.C. According to this tradition the era was founded to celebrate the magnanimity of King Vikramāditya who freed his subjects from debt to mark his conversion by Siddhasena Divākara. But it is conceivable that these late Jain works interpolated the account of Vikrama as the founder of this era at a time when the facts were quite forgotten.

Al-Bīrunī (1030 A.D.) believed there had been two Vikramādityas with the latter being the one who expelled the Śaka, and the former being the one after whom the era was named. He states:[7]

> The epoch of the era of Śaka or Śakakāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their

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[5] Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and Civilization*. Agra : Shiva Lal Agarwala, 1962.

[6] Edgerton F., *Vikrama's Adventures*. Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1926.

[7] Sachau, E. C., *Alberuni's India*. 1910, Reprint 1989 (Delhi).

> country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Āryāvarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling-place....The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karūr, between Multān and the castle of Lonī. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers. They honour the conqueror by adding Śrī to his name, so as to say Śrī Vikramāditya. Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that the Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with the one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his.

The significance of this quotation is that Vikrama of era fame had nothing to do with the defeat of the Śakas. This agrees with the account in the Jain tradition.

Many scholars believe that, notwithstanding the above, the association of Kālidāsa with Vikrama really refers to Candragupta II (375-413 A.D.) of the Gupta dynasty who bore the title Vikramāditya. However, Candragupta II's capital was Pāṭaliputra, whereas Kālidāsa's poetry describes Ujjayinī in great detail in his *Meghadūta*. And if the tradition of Kālidāsa being a courtier of Vikramāditya has any truth to it, one would have expected references to Pāṭaliputra. On the other hand, Candragupta II defeated the Śaka kṣatrapa of Mālavā some time after 390 A.D. Annexing this region, he established a provincial capital at Ujjayinī.

Nevertheless, it is quite conceivable that the legends and references related to Kālidāsa were penned when the facts were quite mixed up and, therefore, Kālidāsa's association with Candragupta II was transferred to the era that bore the name of Vikrama. This means that the controversy can be resolved only by considering evidence within the Kālidāsa corpus itself. This brings us to Agnimitra, the one historical character in his plays. Why did Kālidāsa write a play about him?

Plays are generally written about heroes from myth or history, or characters, otherwise insignificant, who are from the contemporary world. This is true of Shakespeare whose major characters are either mythical heroes like Hamlet, or Roman generals and conquerors, or famous English kings from not too distant past. One would expect this to be true of Kālidāsa as well.

Agnimitra was a minor king who, according to Purāṇas, ruled for a mere 8 years. But before this he served as the viceroy of his father Puṣyamitra Śunga in Vidiśā. In *Mālavikā and Agnimitra* Puṣpamitra (Puṣyamitra) is described as

Agnimitra's general. Now it is conceivable that Puṣyamitra, who had been the general of Bṛhadratha, the last Mauryan king of Pāṭalīputra, continued to call himself *senāpati* during his reign. But during the time of the imperial Guptas, when the Purāṇas were being expanded and revised, Puṣyamitra was remembered as the king who overthrew the Mauryas and ruled for 36 years.

There existed another reason why Puṣyamitra was remembered long after his death.[8] This is because Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* mentions the Aśvamedha sacrifice by him. A stone inscription from Ayodhyā declares that he performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. According to Buddhist tradition, Puṣyamitra persecuted that religion. Jain tradition claims that after his death he was succeeded by Balamitra-Bhānumitra, and it assigns them a reign of 60 years. It has been suggested, therefore, that after Puṣyamitra's death the empire was divided and Agnimitra ruled in Pāṭliputra for 8 years, and Balamitra-Bhānumitra set up an independent state in the west.

This suggests that it would have been highly unlikely for Kālidāsa to base his play on a minor king, 500 years after his death.

We return now to the traditional account which places Kālidāsa about 50 B.C. Considering the Jain accounts that suggest that Vikrama was a minor regional king, it is easy to visualize the court poet writing a play about a recent king who was famous because of the Aśvamedha sacrifices. And since Kālidāsa was apparently from Ujjayinī, it would have been natural to write about the regional viceroy. Furthermore, Kālidāsa would have known that Puṣyamitra continued to style himself *senāpati* after seizing the throne.

In this scenario, one could assume that Kālidāsa was born about 100 B.C. and, therefore, Agnimitra's stewardship of the Aśvamedha in Ujjayinī would have made him well-remembered hero. On the other hand, in 400 A.D. the many intervening Aśvamedhas of numerous kings, including the Guptas, would have made the one stewarded by Agnimitra a long-forgotten event.

The above arguments do not prove that the traditional account of 50 B.C. being the date of Kālidāsa is true. But it makes this date more probable than 400 A.D. accepted by many scholars

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[8] Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, for this and other information in this paragraph.

THE "ABHIPRĀYA-PRAKĀŚIKĀ" AND "BRAHMAN"

By

PRITI SHARMA *

It needs no elaboration that '*Brahman*' is an important element in Advaita philosophy and thus there is no Advaitin who has not shed sufficient light on the tenet of *Brahman*. It is thus that 'Citsukhācārya'—the author of '*Abhiprāya-Prakāśikā*' has dealt with the concept in detail. It may be mentioned that the '*Abhiprāya-Prakāśikā*' is a commentary by 'Citsukha' on the '*Brahmasiddhi*' of '*Ācārya*' Maṇḍana Miśra. At the outset, it may be hinted that although on the tenet of *Brahman*, quite sufficient literature by Advaitins is available, the author of '*Abhiprāya-Prakāśikā*' has taken in view quite a many significant points which are a great contribution to the Advaitic learning. Presently, some of them are taken into consideration.

It is quite reasonable to say that the Upaniṣadic thoughts present a clear and broad back-ground for the latter Vedāntic philosophy. For example it may not be too much to say that the tenet of '*Brahman*' initiated and explained by 'Vyāsa' in his '*Brahma-Sūtra*' and 'Śaṅkarācārya' in his '*Bhāṣyas*' is entirely based on the Upaniṣadic concept of '*Brahman*'. Among the essential and significant characteristics of '*Brahman*', 'Bliss' or '*Ānanda*' is most significant. Needless to say that the '*Ānanda*', which is the very nature of '*Brahman*' has been very well mentioned in the 'Upaniṣads'.[1] On the same line, in the '*Brahma-Sūtras*'–"*Athāto Brahmajijñāsā*", and "*Janmādyasya Yataḥ*", the concept of '*Brahman*' is presented in nutshell. The same way Maṇḍana Miśra in his '*Brahma-siddhi*' mentions '*Brahman*' as '*Ánanda, Eka, Amṛta. Aja, Vijñāna, Akṣara, Asarva, Sarva, Abhaya* and *Prajāpati*.[2] Here, 'Citsukhācārya' initiates a discussion on the point that if there is a '*Jijñāsā*' or '*Pravṛtti*' for '*Brahman*', then how an enquirer or '*Jijñāsu*' can achieve the final peace for a person who has a desire can never achieve the supreme peace.[3] Furthermore,

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[1] *Ānondāddhi Imāni Bhūtāni Jāyante*; (*Taittirīy*. 3.6.1), *Eṣośya Param-ānandaḥ* (Bṛhadā. 4.3.32), *Vijñānamānandam* (Bṛhadā. 3.9.28). (*The Principal Upaniṣads*, edited by S. Radhakrishnan; Allen & Unwin, London, 1951).

[2] Sastri Kuppuswami, (edit.): *Brahmasiddhi*, Maṇḍana Miśra, Govt. of Madras, 1963, page 3.

[3] *Sa Śāntimāpnoti na kāmakāmī*. Goyandaka, Harikrishna das (ed.): *Srīmadbhagavadgītā*, 2.70, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, Samvat 1988.

regarding the objectivity of *Brahman*, there can be an objection that if *Brahman* is an object, in that case, the non-duality of *Advaita* is not possible. It is, because, the moment, subjectivity and objectivity are accepted, the idea of duality is created. So far as, in this connection, the remedial answer of Citsukhācārya is concerned, he, first of all, refutes the philosophy of ' *Vijñāna*' of the Buddhist and says that the ' *Vijñāna* ' itself is the nature of essence and not a separate entity, and thus not a ' *Prameya*.' Thus, the ' *Abhiprāya-Prakāśikā* ' explains that ' *Brahman* ' which is a pure bliss, is '*Cit*' also, and because of this, it is self-illumined reality which illumines the whole unreal.[4]

Thinking upon the blissful nature of ' *Ānanda-svabhāvatā* ' of ' *Brahman*,' it is obvious to think that the ' *Ānanda* ' according to the ' *Advaitin* ' is absence of pain (*Duḥkhābhāva*) or something else. The ' *Abhiprāya-prakāśikā*'s answer to this, is that the ' *Duḥkhābhāva* ' is worldly pleasure (*Laukika-Sukha*) and so it is decidedly different from the Supreme Bliss. ' Citsukhācārya'—the author of the ' *Abhiprāyaprakāśikā* ' admits the ' *Laukika-sukha* ' as the part (*Aṃśa*) of *Paramānanda*'—the Supreme bliss, and this he propounds on the basis of *Śruti*-"*Etasyaivānandasya anyāni bhūtāni-mātrāmupajīvanti*." To object this, it is said that how there can be a part of the indeterminate and absolute *Brahman*. But refuting this objection, the ' *Abhiprāya- prakāśikā* ' mentions that as the partless ether, due to the adjuncts of ' *Ghaṭa* ' and ' *Maṭha* ' takes their shape, likewise, it is the ' *Paramānanda* ' originally which takes the form of the worldly pleasure, because of the adjunct of '*Manas*' etc.[5]

It may be said that if *Paramānanda* is accepted as the eternal nature of '*Brahman*,' then, there will be a possibility of the state of ' *Jīvanmukti* ' always and thus there will remain no place for the state of world (*Saṁsāra-daśā*).

To say, that there is no doubt about the permanent blissful nature of ' *Ātman* ', but it is on account of ' *Avidyā* ' that the individual soul is not capable of realizing its own blissful nature is true. In this manner, till the ' *Avidyā* ' is removed, there will be a full scope for " *Saṁsāra-daśā* ". But, after the removal of ' *Avidyā* ', the blissful nature of *Brahman* will be realized and in that state there will only be the state of ' *Brahman* '—the blissful Supreme reality.[6]

The author of the " *Abhiprāya-prakāśikā* " finds a difference between the ' *Jīvanmukta* ' and the ' *Ajñānin* ' on a different line on the basis of *Śruti*. He says that an ignorant sees a difference of name and form while the " *Jñānin*

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[4] See, Sastri, N. S. Ananthakrishna (edit.): *Abhiprāya prakāśikā*, Citsukhācārya, Govt. of Madras, 1963, page-30.

[5] *Ghaṭākāśavat tadupādhyavacchedāt—Abhiprāya prakāśikā*, P, 38.

[6] See, ' *Abhiprāya-prakāśikā* ', Page-39;

Jīvanmukta " understands the world like dual and not dual and thus in his eyes the world is non-dual.[7]

Citsukhācārya —the author of *Abhiprāya-prakāśikā*, mentions some Buddhistic views regarding the state of '*Brahman*' and '*Mukti*'. According to one Buddhistic view the state in which the inflictions created of *vāsanās* are destroyed, is called the state of the attainment of Brahman. As the *Abhiprāya—Prakāśikā* states, attainment of '*Brahman*' means '*Mukti*'.[8] According to the other view, after the destruction of the '*Vāsanās*' and objectivity when the pure knowledge is attained, it is called the state of attainment of '*Brahman*'. Really speaking, the above two Buddhistic views are not much different from the Vedāntic view of knowledge. Citsukhācārya further presenting the view-point of '*pūrva-pakṣin*' says that it is not proper to understand '*Brahman*' as without beginning and end. If it is so accepted, then there will be nothing to gain or nothing to loose. Secondly, if it is understood that '*Brahman*' has knowledge as its nature, it is also not true. Because, the permanent knowledge will be neither deniable nor attainable. Furthermore, if it is said that '*Avidyā*' or '*Ajñāna*' is the nature of '*Brahman*', it will also not be proper on the grouud that because of the eternity of *Brahman*, '*Avidyā*' can never be removed.

To my mind, the above mentioned objections never stand valid on logical grounds. First of all, it is not proper to say that if *Brahman* is accepted as without beginning and end, there will be nothing to lose and gain. To this, it can be said that because of '*Avidyā*' or ignorance, the beginningless and endless '*Brahman*' is not realized. But the moment, the real knowledge of '*Brahman*' is initiated, the highest objective of '*Mukti*' or '*Brahmajñāna*' is achieved, as a matter of fact. So also, it may be mentioned that '*Brahman*' has knowledge or '*Vidyā*' as its nature; but it is on account of '*Avidyā*' that the true nature of '*Brahman*' remains veiled and thus it is after attaining right knowledge (*Vidyā*), that the '*Avidyā*' is destroyed.[9]

In fact, '*Avidyā*' plays an important role in the realm of Advaita Philosophy. Citsukhācārya explains the special characteristic of '*Avidyā*' to mention it as '*Tattvā-grahaṇātmikā*' and the '*Vidyā*' as '*Tattva-grahaṇātmikā*' which makes further clear that it is because of the former that '*Brahman*' or reality is not known and it is because of the latter-'*Vidyā*' that '*Brahman*' or the reality becomes subject of realization. Thus, it may be said that the treatment of '*Brahman*' is not new to the author of '*Abhiprāya-prakāśikā*,' Ācārya Citsukha. But he has dealt with this problem with most original and logical explanations and observations on the basis of the tenets propounded in the '*Brahmasiddhi*' of Maṇḍana Miśra and quite some other works of Vedāntins like the '*Bhāvaśuddhi*' of Ānandapurṇa Muni. The above mentioned points are further found elaborated in the Commentary[10] of Śaṅkha-pāṇi on '*Brahma-siddhi*'.

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[7] *Yadi tāttvikam bheda-darśanam tadā 'Nānā paśyati' ityeva ucyeta/na tu 'nāneva paśyati' iti.* (*Abhiprāya-prakāśikā*—Page 43).

[8] *Brahmaprāptiśabdena cātra Muktirvivakṣyate* (*Abh. Pra.*, Page 53).

[9] *Vidyayā tasyāḥ bījaśakterdāhāt*—Sastri, N. S. Anantha Krishna and Pansikar Vasudev Laxman Shastri (edit.): *Brahmasūtra Śāṅkara Bhāṣya*, 1.4.3, Nirnaya-Sagar, Bombay, 1917.

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[10] The *Bhāva-śuddhi* of Ānandapūrṇa Muni on *Brahmasiddhi* has been edited by N. S. Anantha Krishna Sastri, pub. Madras Govt., 1963 and the Śaṅkhapāṇi's comm. on *Brahmasiddhi* has been edited by S. Kuppu Swami Sastri, and pub. by Satguru publications, Delhi, 1984.

DESCRIPTION OF SOME MANUSCRIPTS OF VĀSTUPADAMAṆḌALAS

By

R. P. KULKARNI *

Introduction

I was fortunate to find a few drawings Illustrating *Vāstupadamaṇḍalas*, as manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal library at Tanjavur, Tamilnadu. These manuscripts are written on paper, language is Sanskrit and script is Devanāgarī. These manuscripts are at least two hundred years old. These *Vāstupadamaṇḍalas* might be in use for the '*Vāstupratiṣṭhā* ceremony' by the Marāṭhas in the eighteenth century as the script is Devanāgarī and the Maratha kings used to rule, before British conquired, this part of South India.

Description of Manuscripts

These manuscripts are not mentioned in the printed catalogues, particularly Vol. XVIII, published in 1934, that deals with Vrata, Āgama and Tantra, a subsection of which is Śilpa. These manuscripts are listed in the unclassified catalogue, in manuscript form, available in that library.

Manuscript 1 is from 'Anāmat' collection, its Sr. No. being 1153, C.B. No. 7 and MS. No. 9. There is only one sheet of paper measuring 19.7 × 23 5 cms. On one side of it is the illustration of the *Vāstupadamaṇḍala* of eighty-one houses. Size of the drawing is 17.3 × 21.0 cms. On the reverse side of the sheet is written '*Sarvatobhadra*', apperently the name of the drawing, and also '*Śri Gaṇeśāya namaḥ Śri Sarasvatyai namaḥ*'.

Manuscript 2 is from 'Bāluswāmi Raw Donations, Thanjavur' its Sr. No. being 3100, C B. No. 3 and MS. No. 27. It is having ten sheets, on one of them the *maṇḍala* is drawn. It is called as '*Vāstupuruṣa*'. It is also of eighty-one houses. Size of the paper is 22 × 23 cms. and that of the figure is 18.8 × 21.0 cms.

Manuscript 3 is from P. Natarājā Collection. Its Sr. No. is 2566, C.B. No. 1 and MS. No. 6. It is a single sheet measuring 49 × 38 cms, the size of the figure being 37 × 37 cms. On the backside is written '*Vāstuyantra*'. This is the name of the figure. Numbers of houses are again 81.

Manuscript 4 is from Jaṭāvallabha Collection. Its Sr. No. is 859, C.B. No. 3 and MS. No. 21. It contains two sheets. On one side of one sheet is

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* B-15/3 CDO Quarters, MERI—CDO Colony, Nasik-422004.

given the figure of *maṇḍala*. On its backside is written *Gaṇeśāyanamanamaḥ*. The size of the sheet as well as that of the drawing is 20 × 20 cms. Numbers of houses are eighty one. The information given on both the sides of the second sheet is given in appendix I.

The arrangement of houses and the locations of different gods given in the drawings of manuscripts 1 and 2 are almost similar. The numbering of the houses is also identical. Fig. A illustrates the drawing of the maṇḍala as given in the manuscript 2. The only difference in the manuscript and in fig. A is that the names of gods given in manuscript are written as Śikhinam, Parjyanyam, Jayaṅtam etc. whereas these names are given in fig. A as Śikhin, Parjyanya, Jayaṅta etc. Ms. 1 also gives the names of gods like Śikhinam, Parjynyam etc. The name of god given in house No. 39 in fig. A is Vivasvaṅta whereas in both the Mss. 1 and 2 it is written as Vivasvaṅtam pūjitam.

A few variations that are found in these two Mss. are given below.

The *maṇḍala* of Ms. 1 is called *Sarvatobhandra* whereas that of Ms. 2 is called '*Vāstupuruṣa*'. In Ms. 1 the name of god of house No. 41 is given as Mitramśātakumbhākṣam' whereas in Ms. 2 he is mentioned as 'Mitraśālakumbhākṣam'. In addition to the names Carakī, Vidārī, Pūtanā and Pāparākṣasī located at the four corners outside the diagram of Ms. 2, names of following gods are written at these four corners in Ms. 1. Īśāna is written near Carakī, the name of god near Vidārī could not be understood as the paper is torned here but it may be Agni as the letter Ā is decipherable. At the third corner near the name of Pūtanā is written Nirṛti and the name Vāyu near Pāparākṣasī at the fourth corner. In Ms. 2 (Illustrated in fig. A) at the middle but outside the diagram, between Carakī and Vidārī the name Skanda is written. Between Vidārī and Pūtanā name of god is not given. Jambhaka and Pilipicha are mentioned at the middle of the other two sides. On the other hand in Ms. 1. near the name of Skanda name of Indra, in addition, is written. In between Vidārī and Pūtanā names of Yama and Aryamaṇa are written At the middle of the two remaining sides Varuṇa is written near Ja-(Jṛ.)-mbhaka and that of Kubera near Pilipicha.

In Ms. 2 Carakī is given number 1, Skanda 2, Vidārī 3 etc. as given in fig. A. In Ms. 1 the numbers given to gods written outside the diagram are : Carakī 46, Skaṅda 47, Vidārī 48, Aryamaṇa 49, Pūtanā 50, Jṛmbhaka 51, Pāparākṣasī 52, Pilipicha 53, Indra 5(4?), Agni 55, Yama 56, Nirṛti, number not given, Varuṇa 54 (should be 58), Vāyu 59, Kubera 60, and Īśāna 61.

Drawing of Ms. 3 is illustrated in fig. B. In this fig. the names of gods are given as Īśāna, Parjyanya, Jayanta etc. In the Ms. 3 they are written as *Īśānāya namaḥ*, *Parjyanyāya namaḥ*, *Jayantāya namaḥ* etc. Similarly at the corners, in fig. B, names are given as Carakī, Vitārī etc. but in the Ms. they are written as *Carakyai namaḥ*, *Vitāryai namaḥ* etc. In addition, at the middle and outside of the right vertical side is written, in Ms., *Dakṣaṇe Yamāya namaḥ*, which is not given in fig. B. At the middle of the left vertical side is written *Balipiñchāya namaḥ Uttare*. At this location, in addition, it is written in Marāṭhī language and Devanāgarī script.

'आगम तंत्रप्रकार देवालयामध्ये वास्तु करावयाची पद्धति ।। देवतें त्रयोपन ५३'

A pecularity in writing the names of gods was that the letter र is written as न, thus *Rogāya namaḥ* is written as नेगाय नमः; similarly are written the words Varuṇa, Rudra, Rudradāsa etc. In the left outer tier, in the house between that of Diti and Soma, the name of god written is *Ṛśāya namaḥ*.

In Ms. 4 the arrangement of houses and that of gods is rather different from that given in Mss. 1 to 3, Fig. C illustrates this drawing. In fig. C, the names of gods are given as Īśāna, Parjyanya, Jayanta etc. Actually in the manuscript they are written as *OM Īśānāya namaḥ*, *OM Parjyanyāya namaḥ*, *OM Jayaṁtāya namaḥ* etc.

The names of gods as well as their order in the houses of the outer tier are almost similar to those given in other three Mss. The main difference in the names of gods and their order is in the second tier. The middle houses of the second tier, along each direction, are divided, by diagonal lines, into four small parts. The word '*Pūjayāmi*' is written in the four parts of the middle house located on the left side, i.e. north side. The letters *Am*, *Che*, *Ṇā*, and *Ī* are written in the four parts of the upper middle (east) house. The meanings of these letters are not clear. The letters *Aim*, *Pam* etc. written in the four parts of the middle houses at the remaining directions seem to be *bīja-maṁtras*.

The goddesses, Carakī, Vidārī, Pūtanā (Śarva), Jambhaka and Pilipiñcha (and Guha) which are generally accomodated outside the *maṇḍala* without allotting them any house are given two houses each in this *maṇḍala*.

In case of this manuscript another notable point is that the handwriting is very good and the ink used is exceptionally dark black which seems to have been prepared with meticulous care. The lines of the diagram are straight being drawn with the help of a straight edge or a scale which is not the case with other three manuscripts.

Maṇḍalas compared with published maṇḍalas

The drawing of *Vāstupadamaṇḍalas* that are presented in this paper are unpublished hitherto. The *maṇḍals* of eighty-one houses as described in *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, *Agni* and *Vāyu purāṇas* as well as in *Vāstuvidyā*, *Śilparatna*, *Īśānaśivsgurudevapaddhati* and in other published books are given as fig. Nos. 9, 10 and 11 in the paper '*Vāstupadamaṇḍala*' published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1979.

The arrangement of houses and the gods as given in Mss. 1 and 2 are almost similar to the one given in fig. 9 that are according to those described in *Bṛhat-saṁhita, Viśvakarmā Prakāśa* and *Matsya purāṇa.* There are only two differences in the drawing given in Ms. 1 and that of fig. 9. The name of god of house No. 24 of the Ms. 1 is Pāpa whereas it is given as Pāpayakṣmā in fig. 9. The name of god of house No. 41 in the Ms. 1 is Vibudhādhipa, whereas the name of god of that house in fig. 9 is Indra. In all other respects fig. A representing drawing of Ms. 1 and fig. 9 from the published paper are quite similar.

The arrangement of houses given in Ms. 3 (Fig. B of this paper and in fig. 10 (of the above mentioned paper) is similar but there are some differences in the locations of gods in these two figures. The statement given below indicates these differences.

Location	*Name of god in fig. b (i.e. Ms. 3)*	*Name of god in fig. 10*
Outer tier, east side,		
7th house from Īśāna	Mṛga	Bhṛśa
Outer tier, south side		
3rd house from Agni	Vidhātṛ	Vitatha
6th house from Agni	Dharmarāja	Gandharva
7th house from Agni	Gandharva	Bhṛṅga
8th house from Agni	Bhṛṅgarāja	Mṛga
2nd and 3rd tier north-east corner	Indra and Indrajita	Āpa and Āpavatsa
2nd and 3rd tier *south-east corner*	Rudra and Rudradāsa	Savitā and Sāvitra
2nd and 3rd tier *south-west corner*	Āpa and Āpavatsa	Indra and Indrajaya
2nd and 3rd tier *north-west corner*	Savitra and Sāvitra	Rudra and Rudrajaya

The arrangement of houses as well as that of gods as given in Ms. 4 is completely different from the hitherto known *Vāstupada* diagrams.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to thank the Administrator of TSSMS library for giving the necessary permission to publish the manuscripts.

Appendix I

First page of second sheet of Ms.

श्री गणेशाय नमः । अथ वास्तुदेवतान्वाधानं लिख्यते ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

१ शिखिनं
२ पर्जन्यं
३ जयंतं
४ कुलिशायुधं
५ सूर्यं
६ सत्यं
७ भृशं
८ आकाशं

९ वायुं
१० पूषणं
११ वितथं
१२ गृहक्षतं
१३ यमं
१४ गंधर्वं
१५ भृंगराजं
१६ मृगं
१७ पितृन्
१८ दौवारिकं

१९ सुग्रीवं
२० पुष्पदन्तं
२१ वरुणं
२२ असुरं
२३ शोषं
२४ पापं
२५ रोगं
२६ अहिं
२७ मुख्यं
२८ भल्लाटं

२९ सोमं
३० सर्पं
३१ अदितिं
३२ दितिं
३३ अपः
३४ सावित्रं
३५ जयंतं
३६ रुद्रं
३७ अर्यमणं
३८ सवितारं

३९ विवस्वन्तं
४० विबुधाधिपं
४१ मित्रं
४२ राजयक्ष्माण
४३ पृथ्वीधरं
४४ अपवत्सं
४५ ब्रह्माणं
४६ वृषवास्तुतदुत्तरे

back side of the second sheet

वृषवास्तुतदुत्तरे ॥	तद्बहिः ॥
१ चरकीं	१ इंद्रं
२ स्कन्दं	२ अग्नि
३ विदरीं	३ यमं
४ अर्यमणं	४ निऋतिं
५ पूतना	५ वरुणं
६ जृंभकं	६ वायुं
७ पापराक्षसीं	७ कुबेरं
८ पिलिपिछं	८ ईशानं

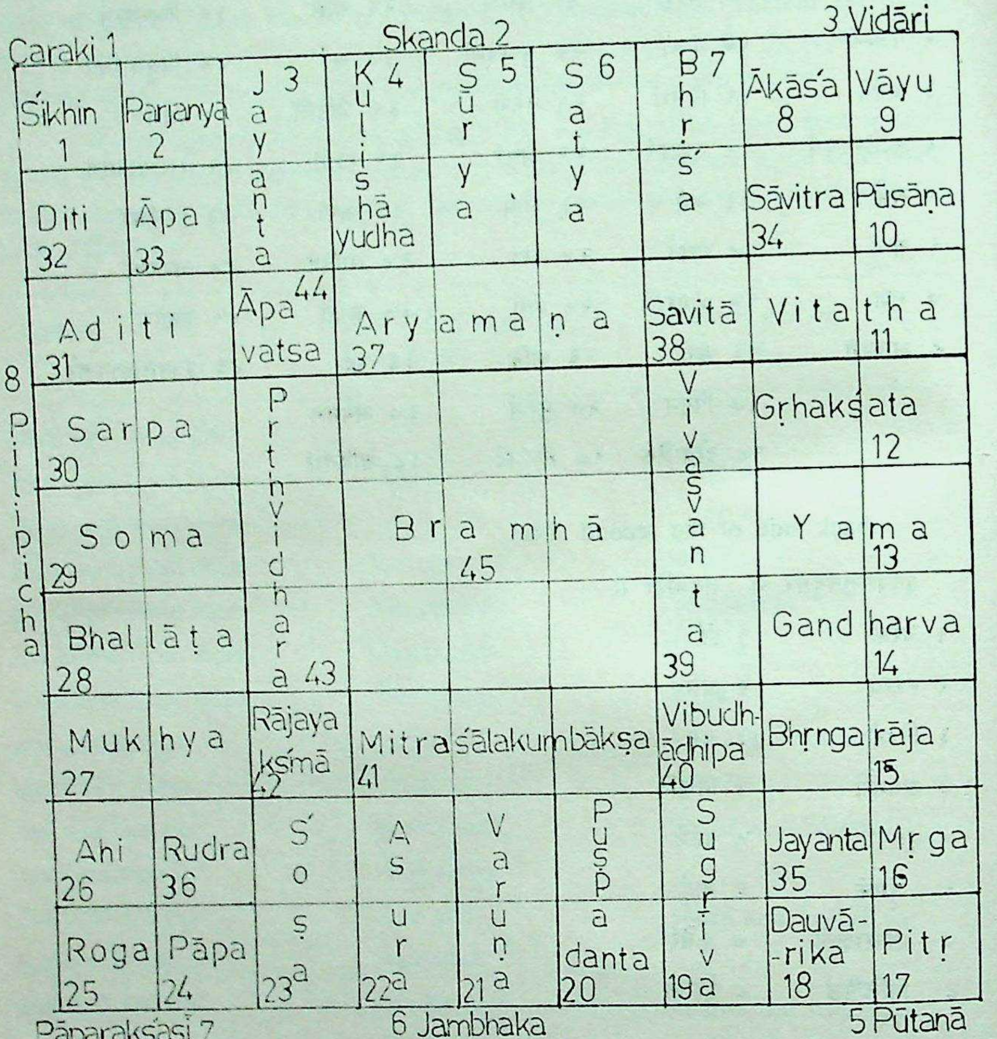
Caraki 1
Skanda 2
3 Vidāri
Śikhin 1
Parjanya 2
Jayanta 3
Kuliśhāyudha 4
Sūrya 5
Satya 6
Bhr̥śa 7
Ākāśa 8
Vāyu 9
Diti 32
Āpa 33
Sāvitra 34
Pūsāṇa 10
Aditi 31
Āpavatsa 44
Aryamaṇa 37
Savitā 38
Vitatha 11
8 Pilipicha
Sarpa 30
Pr̥thvidhara 43
Vivasvanta 39
Gr̥hakśata 12
Soma 29
Bramhā 45
Yama 13
Bhallāṭa 28
Gandharva 14
Mukhya 27
Rājayakśmā 42
Mitra 41
śālakumbākṣa
Vibudhādhipa 40
Bhr̥ngarāja 15
Ahi 26
Rudra 36
Śoṣa 23
Asura 22
Varuṇa 21
Puṣpadanta 20
Sugrīva 19
Jayanta 35
Mr̥ga 16
Roga 25
Pāpa 24
Dauvā-rika 18
Pitr̥ 17
Pāparakśasī 7
6 Jambhaka
5 Pūtanā

Fig. A (Manuscript 2)

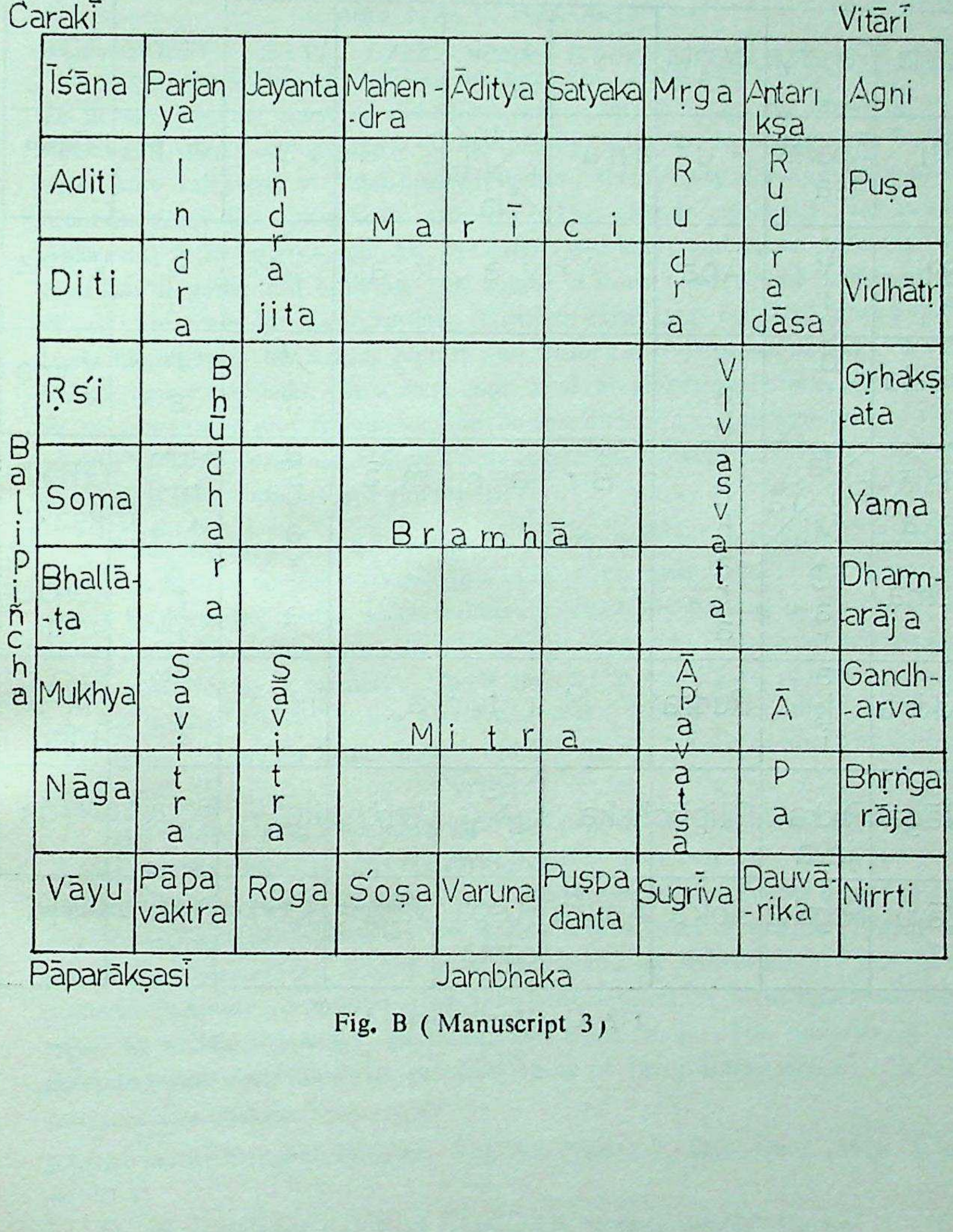
Carakī
Vitārī
Īśāna
Parjanya
Jayanta
Mahen-dra
Āditya
Satyaka
Mṛga
Antarikṣa
Agni
Aditi
Indra
Indrajita
Marīci
Rudra
Rudradāsa
Puṣa
Diti
Vidhātṛ
Ṛśi
Bhūdhara
Vivasvata
Gṛhakṣata
Balipiñcha
Soma
Bramhā
Yama
Bhallāṭa
Dhammarāja
Mukhya
Savitra
Sāvitra
Mitra
Āpavatsa
Āpa
Gandharva
Nāga
Bhṛṅgarāja
Vāyu
Pāpavaktra
Roga
Śoṣa
Varuṇa
Puṣpadanta
Sugrīva
Dauvārika
Nirṛti
Pāparākṣasī
Jambhaka

Fig. B (Manuscript 3)

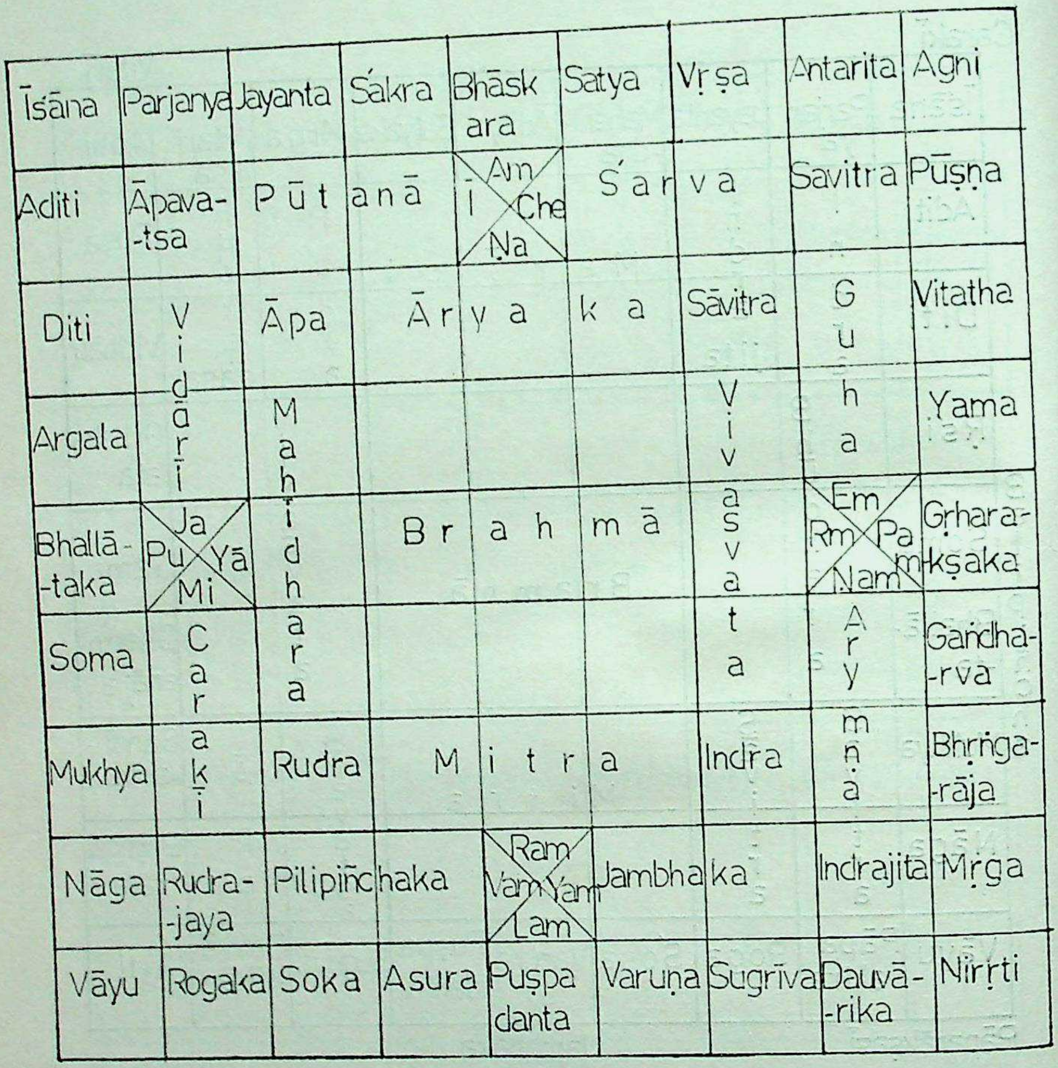
Īśāna
Parjanya
Jayanta
Śakra
Bhāskara
Satya
Vṛṣa
Antarita
Agni
Aditi
Āpava-tsa
Pūtanā
Am
Ī
Che
Ṇa
Śarva
Savitra
Pūṣṇa
Diti
Vidārī
Āpa
Āryaka
Sāvitra
Guha
Vitatha
Argala
Mahīdhara
Vivasvata
Yama
Bhallā-taka
Ja
Pu
Yā
Mi
Brahmā
Em
Rm
Pa
m
Nam
Gṛhara-kṣaka
Soma
Carakī
Aryamṇā
Gandha-rva
Mukhya
Rudra
Mitra
Indra
Bhṛṅga-rāja
Nāga
Rudra-jaya
Pilipiñchaka
Ram
Vam
Yam
Lam
Jambhaka
Indrajita
Mṛga
Vāyu
Rogaka
Soka
Asura
Puṣpa danta
Varuṇa
Sugrīva
Dauvā-rika
Nirṛti

Fig. C (Manuscript 4)

INDIAN SOCIETY AS REFLECTED IN THE BHĀṆAS AND PRAHASANAS

By

SIDDHARTH Y. WAKANKAR *

When the studies of Sanskrit language and literature got impetus during the British Regime, most of the efforts were centred round the study of the well-known *kāvya*s and *nāṭaka*s. Consequently, little-known *Bhāṇa*s and *Prahasana*s were relegated to subordinate position, their study drawing very little attention from the enthusiastic scholars. This already neglected field could evoke very little interest amongst the early researchers and again met with the same fate of going into oblivion. Of course, it doesn't mean that no concerted efforts were made in this direction. There do exist some excellent papers and books highlighting the social, literary and historical importance of some of the *Bhāṇa*s and *Prahasana*s. In a way, some kind of pioneering efforts were made by the indegenous and foreign scholars in this direction at the beginning of this century. I hereby draw upon their works to present a picture of " Indian Society as reflected in the *Bhāṇa*s and *Prahasana*s ".

When we turn to a delineation of society reflected in a class of poetical works, we have to confine ourselves to a limit, as the entire form of that literature cannot be given the justice which it deserves, especially because of the extent of the amount of literature on it. In other words, we have to take some representative specimens only in account. This is the reason why I'll be referring to only some of the well-known *Bhāṇa*s and *Prahasana*s. Before I actually turn to the topic proper, it will be better to deal briefly with the format of the *Bhāṇa*s and *Prahasana*s.

The *Bhāṇa*s and *Prahasana*s are the two of the ten types of *Rūpaka*s accepted by the Theorists. The special features of these two are : *Bhāṇa* is a one-act play with the *Viṭa* as the only actor. He resorts to the famous device of the *Ākāśabhāṣita* and describes either his experiences or those of others. *Prahasana* is a farcical/satirical play, having many actors and no *Ākāśabhāṣita*. The story is secular in nature—a popular story full of the description of the characters who resort to deceit, hypocracy, gambling and other vices. The majority of the characters and their life-styles resemble those of the ordinary people. In fact,

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the *Kāvyānuśāsana* remarks that *Bhāṇa* is mostly meant for the diversion of the minds of the ordinary folk (*Pṛthagjana*). So, it is a picture of the lower strata of society. The *Rasa*s, *Śṛṅgāra* and *Hāsya* get the palm of the hand. These short-duration poetic-pieces were more appealing to the masses, since, the hypocracy and degenerate nature of the higher-caste society is exposed in these, while the true life of the lower-caste society is described. One point may be clearly stressed/ stated here. Since the description of the society is limited to a particular red-light area (*veśavāṭā*), there is consequently a monotonous similarity, not only in the names of some of the characters, but, in some of the situations too.

While discussing the *Bhāṇa*-type, we have to make a distinction between the earlier *Bhāṇas*-represented by the famous *Caturbhāṇī* and the later *Bhāṇa*s, numbering nearly eighty. The *Caturbhāṇī* is primarily comic in nature, while, the later *Bhāṇa*s are almost erotic in nature, cornering on vulgarity. The style of the *Caturbhāṇī* is refreshing due to the minute observations of the *Viṭa*, full of satire, sarcasm, ruthlessly lashing out at the hypocracy of the individuals, by artistically creating various comic situations. The later *Bhāṇa*s, however, display very little variety, the experiences, situations etc. are monotonous, almost stereotyped and too much of stress being given on eroticism-thus, losing the grip and consequently, the appeal also which paved the way for their being totally neglected, not only by the public, but, at times, by the theorists too. In the following pages, only *Caturbhāṇī* and some *Prahasana*s will be dealt with due to the shortage of space and time at our disposal.

CATURBHĀṆĪ : As the title suggests, it is a collection of four different *Bhāṇa*s, composed by four different authors at different times. But, they are supposed to be the product of the Gupta period.

Before we actually dilate on these four *Bhāṇa*s individually, it must be made clear that the importance of these lies in it that they are a kind of a caustic commentary on the then prevailing hypocracy in society at large. Prostitution was the oldest and universally practised profession. Hence, visiting the red-light area was not looked down upon, instead, it was a symbol of prestige and social status. The visitors to this area included Vedic scholars, grammarians, merchants, wealthy persons, *Bauddha*s, *Bhāgavata*s etc. This just hints at the deteriorating moral conduct—a picture of perverted tendency spread throughout the entire social structure. It appears to be a true-to-life delineation of the society of those days. Since the happenings described in the *Bhāṇa*s centred round the *veśavāṭa*, it is but natural and obvious that the attending evils-if it can be said—are also present there. The *gaṇikā*s, their mothers greedy for money, the *Viṭa*s-their agents or liason officers, who were bankrupt and happy-go-lucky *brāhmaṇa*s, experienced, well-versed in *vaiśikatantra*, ready-witted, sweet-tongued, rogues, and experts in all sorts of things-like the clowns in a circus-especially, the art of deceiving and winning others over to their sides, by creating quarrels; and conciliating estranged lovers etc. These three are the main pillars of that society, helped in their profession by other necessary and essential class of wine-vendors, gamblers, florists, beauticians, doctors expert in aphrodisiacs, magicians, persons arranging ram-fights, cock-fights etc. This is a picture of the society in the affluent cities like Ujjayinī and Pāṭaliputra-the two of the most busy and commercially important cities in Ancient India during the Gupta regime. A brief discussion of the four *Bhāṇa*s will be worthwhile.

UBHAYĀBHISĀRIKĀ of Vararuci-Venue-Kusumpura.

The *Viṭa* in this *Bhāṇa* is going on the mission of ending a love-quarrel between the two lovers. Here, it may be observed that quarrels are a part and a parcel of the lives of the *gaṇikās*. Competition, professional rivalry or jealousy is the cause of this discord. The only remedy for reconciliation is the *Abhisāra*. That is the advice the *Viṭa* is to offer. This is the simple theme of this *Bhāṇa*. But, the point getting or having importance is the characters depicted herein, who are lingering in the *veśavāṭa*. They are the sample examples from the particular groups, such as Vilāsakauṇḍinī—the lady following the *Vaiśeṣika*-philosophy, *Bauddha bhikṣus*, and *Bhikṣuṇī*s, one self-styled religious-minded *Bhāgavata* etc. Here, it may be noted that this is not a satire on the respective sects, but, on their cunning, adulterous or debaucherous followers.

(2) *PADMAPRĀBHṚTAKA* of Śūdraka. Venue-Ujjayini.

Herein the main business of the *Viṭa* is to take advantage from both the parties, by sowing the seeds of discord and enjoying from a distance. One special feature of this *Viṭa*—in fact, a basic necessity or quality—is that he is happy with anything like a *gaṇikā*, *ceṭi*, a messenger or even a *Bhikṣuṇī*. But, their morality does not allow forcible enjoyment—rape or molestation, as it lowers down his status and is detrimental to his business. During the course of his wanderings through the *veśavāṭa*, he comes across Dattakalaśi, son of Dandaśūka—a Pāṇinian grammarian, having tough time with the Kātantra-grammarians, suggestive of that period in history when these two schools were vying for superiority. Then we come across a lively picture—a graphic description of Ball-play (*Kandukakrīḍā*) by the young Priyaṅguyaṣṭikā, suggestive of the currency of these pastimes prescribed in the *Kāmaśāstra*. We see the hypocratic orthodox persons, carrying out rituals during day-time and visiting the courtezens at night, strictly avoiding their contact during the performance of the rituals. On the whole, the picture is not much different from other civilized societies, wherein, even judges, ministers and other high-class persons do not feel it much taboo to visit the *veśavāṭa*. A couple of references is very much important.

(I) A *Bhikṣu* going to a *veśyā* does not appear to advantage like the sacred syllable Om in the *sūtra*s of Dattaka. Here, it may be noted that Dattaka is the author of a work written on the *gaṇikā*s of Pataliputra and this *vaiśika-tantra* is supposed to be a part of *Kāmaśāstra*. One more interesting observation. Vātsyāyana is never referred to as far as the *gaṇikā-tantra* is concerned. He is a *Maharṣi* and as such is respected by high-class society, as his work is meant for the married persons. On the contrary, Dattaka is revered in respect of *gaṇikā-tantra*, as his is a special work for the *gaṇikā*s only. The verse is as under :

Veśyāṅgaṇam praviṣṭo mohād bhikṣuryadṛcchayā vā'pi /
Na bhrājate prayukto Dattakasūtreṣvivoṁkāraḥ // 21 //.

(II) Kumudvatī, the daughter of Bhāṇḍīrasenā, promises to offer *dadhyodana* to a crow if her lower will return and remove her sorrow. See:

Nisśokā hi sametya me priyatamam dāsyāmi dadhyodanam // 29d //.

We may profitably compare this idea—a tradition—with the famous lines of Jñāneśvara :

Uḍa uḍa re kāu, tujhe sonyāne maḍhavina pāu /
Dahibhātācī uṇḍī, ghālīna tujhe toṇḍī.

These two *Bhāṇa*s describe the real, day-to-day business of the *Viṭa*. But, when, there is no such mission as bringing lovers together etc. the other business is pure entertainment and *śāstracarcā*, which form the nucleus of the next two *Bhāṇa*s, respectively. I may deal with them very briefly, just mentioning the special or salient features.

(3) *PĀDATĀḌITAKAM* of Śyāmilaka. Venue-Ujjayinī.

This *Bhāṇa* is pure entertainment. It is more comic in nature than erotic. The theme is: Madanasenā, the courtezen from the Surāṣṭra, keeps her foot (lit. kicks with her foot-as a sign of extreme love) on the head of Viṣṇunāga-a Royal Officer. The foolish Viṣṇunāga takes it as an insult and desires some expiation or atonement for this. Then his friends suggest various methods of *prāyaścitta*. This creates a very humourous and interesting situation and everybody relishes it. One of the *Viṭa*s suggests that it is not Viṣṇunāga who has to atone for this, but, Madanasenā herself should take some *prāyaścitta* to purify her for having touched Viṣṇunāga. This gives rise to another hilarious outburst among the members assembled there for deciding the course of action.

(4) *DHŪRTAVIṬASAṀVĀDA* of Īśvaradatta. Venue-Pataliputra or Kusumpura.

This *Bhāṇa* is a sort of an encyclopaedia as far as the *gaṇikā*s, their ways and life etc. is concerned. Herein, one *Viṭa* asks some vitally imporatant questions and the senior *Viṭa* appropriately offers his comments and parades his knowledge of the nuances of *Kāmaśāstra*. The importance of this lies in the *śāstracarcā*, which is at its best. It will be worth everybody's while to have direct aquaintance with the unique exposition by the *Viṭa* of a very interesting and necessary aspect of human life, viz. erotics, in which the Ancient Indians excelled. The interested may read the original and derive joy and benefit therefrom.

PRAHASANAS : Like the *Bhāṇa*, this type also is quite old as it is briefly discussed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Its currency at that time was the reason for its acceptance and inclusion by Bharatamuni But, unfortunately, the *Prahasanas* mentioned in earlier works on Dramaturgy are known only by their names. Hence, the earliest available *Prahasanas* date roughly from the seventh century. Of course, the possible dates (and authors) of some of the earlier *prahasanas* is a matter of conjecture.

Like the *Bhāṇa*, the *Prahasana* also is an excellent way of pointing to the incongruity, incompatibility, impropriety, anamolies and contradictions in the ranks and files of the society, with the help of humour and sarcasm or satire. That was the easy way of bringing home the point in a lighter vein. Naturally, the *prahasanas* abound in a variety of humourous situations, giving rise to mirth, frolic and merriment, highlighting the life of those times. But, in course of time, this genre became stereotyped and monotonous, full of repetitions of ideas and expressions and very little of originality, except the diction and pedantry of the author. Thus, like the *bhāṇas*, the *prahasanas* also started getting into the same trap of obscenity and vulgarity, due to overburdening of eroticism, leaning towards pornography. This ultimately paved the way for its losing public appeal and applause and consequently went into oblivion, though a few of them did make appearance in subsequent centuries proving its currency. One important contribution of the *prahasanas* is the place of Humour. The sentiment of Humour (*Hāsyarasa*) that was very sparingly or so to say scarcely employed in Sanskrit dramas etc. got the palm of the hand in this theatrical farce and did enrich the literature. But, its too much realistic and obvious description lost charm, grip or hold and thus got estranged even from the masses, slowly and surely, losing its currency and popularity. In order to get a fairly good idea of this type, I may in brief discuss two *prahasanas* one each from earlier and later stages of its development.

(1) *BHAGAVADAJJUKAM*

Herein, the theme is very funny. One Hindu *Sannyāsī* and his Bauddha-student, Śāṇḍilya by name, were discussing *Yoga* in a grove. Therein comes a *gaṇikā*, Vasantasenā by name, alongwith her *ceṭī*. While they were gathering flowers, the *gaṇikā* was bitten by a snake. So, the *ceṭī* keeps her corpse in the vicinity of Śàṇḍilya and goes to inform the mother of Vasantasenā. In the meanwhile, Śāṇḍilya gets enamoured of Vasantasenā and starts crying and weeping for her. His teacher, then, enters the body of the *gaṇikā* with the help of his *yogavidyā*. So, the *gaṇikā* starts speaking like a *sannyāsī*. The *Yamadūta* comes there and instils the vital breaths in the body of the *sannyāsī*, which starts talking like a *gaṇikā*. This situation is very interesting. The *Bhagavān* (*Sannyāsī*) becomes *Ajjukā* and vice versa. In the end, the *Yamadūta* restores the *prāṇa*s to the original bodies and here ends the *prahasana*. The idea of *parakāyāpraveśa* suggests the antiquity of this *prahasana*, which must have been composed at a time when conversion from one religion to the other was not so easy and when even Buddhists could be students of Hindus and when the Buddhists-though antagonists to the Hindus-were respected in the society.

(2) *MATTAVILĀSAPRAHASANAM-of* Mahendravikramavarman (580-630 A.D.).

This is the earliest of the available dated farces. It was composed by the Pallava King Mahendra of Kanci, who succeeded his father Siṁhaviṣṇuvarman on the throne. Mahendravikaramavarman was a notable figure in the South Indian History as a poet, soldier, musician, architect and religious reformer. He had assumed a variety of *biruda*s suggestive of his versatility.

This one-act farce is full of fun, frolic and satire. It depicts the frolic of a drunken Śaiva mendicant named Satyasoma. He holds a human-skull as an alms-bowl and wanders with his sweet-heart Devasomā through the streets of Kancipuram. During his visits to wine-shops, he forgets his bowl and accuses a Buddhist-monk of its theft, claiming that the Buddhist must have stolen the bowl as it contained roasted meat. Then he requests a degenerate Pāśupata to be a mediator for settling this dispute. But, before the *Pāśupata* could pronounce his verdict, the *Kāpālika* recovers his lost bowl from a lunatic who himself got it from a stray dog.

Throughout the *prahasana*, there is satire on the hypocratic *Kāpālikas*, *Pāśupatas*, *Śākya-bhikṣus* etc. The *Kāpālika* is so addicted to wine that he tries to find some excuse or the other to drink it. One such excuse is his desire to purify his tongue that was polluted by uttering the name of the Jina while criticising the tenets and way of their life. It points to that time when the religious differences were a usual way of verbal fights. The *Pāśupata* was the lover of Devasomā. Now that she had forsaken him and gone to the *Kāpālika*, the *Pāśupata* desires to avenge it by accepting to be a judge in the quarrel between the *Kāpālika* and the *Śākya-bhikṣu*. The *Śākya-bhikṣu* is portrayed as a staunch supporter of woman and wine, though they are disallowed by his religion. Hence, he finds fault with his predecessors saying that they deleted this portion from the scriptures and he is ready to locate such sanction in some or the other canonical literature. He enjoys secretly woman as well as wine and is afraid of practising this before the elders. It is an indication of the loose character of the Bauddhas at that time, especially in South.

Other *prahasana*s like the *Laṭakamelakam* of Śaṅkhadhara and *Hāsyarṇava* of Jagadīśvara (both of C. 12th century) etc. are also composed with a view to reforming the society-which was progressively deteriorating-with the time-tested device of satire, sarcasm etc. Even the characters in these *prahasanas* are named humourously. See, for example, their names such as Kalahapriyā, Ajñānarāśi, Phuṅkaṭamiśra, Kulavyādhi, Jantaketu etc. In these *prahasanas* also we come across great scholars like Sabhāsali Upādhyāya, Digaṁbarasūri etc. All these characters represent the particular types and not individuals, with which the society is always infested. Added to that is the characterisation of the doctors and the funny medicines and remedies they prescribe for curing (permanently) the diseases. Even the philosophers and other scholars are also not spared from scathing remarks, bringing to light their dubious and doubtful character.

In fine, we may say that these *Bhāṇas* and *Prahasanas* depicted the true-to-themselves nature of the general folks and missed no opportunity of exposing the hypocracy of the higher-caste affluent society. But, too much description of eroticism and monotonous nature of the situations and absence of any striking originality became the cause for the dislike of this sort of literature, especially amongst the higher classes of society and people lost interest in this form, criticising the cream of the society. In course of time it was neglected and discouraged, to such an extent that only a few examples or specimens are available now that too produced mostly to keep the format in currency. The seekers of historical facts do get abundant amount of information about the society in those days. But, repeating of old ideas and vulgarity and obscenity in the end hastened the downfall of this lively literature, mainly devoted to the description of the lives of the men in the street who are supposed to be more honest to themselves and who are really in need of such entertainment.

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SOME UNKNOWN FACTS ABOUT THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS OF GUJARAT

By

H. S. THOSAR*

It is assumed that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Govinda III appointed his brother Indra as the feudatory over Southern Gujarat at the beginning of the 9th Century A.D. whose descendents continued to rule over that territory till the end of that century.[1] It was probably brought under central rule by Krishna II or Indra III at the beginning of the 10th century.[2] Southern Gujarat was thus continuously ruled over by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory family for over a century as vassals of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But we do not get a clear cut idea about the arrangements made by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for the administration of Gujarat prior to this period. As a matter of fact Dantidurga had conquered Gujarat by putting an end to the rule of the Chālukyas of Navasari and the Gurjaras of Bhadoch at about 738 A.D[3] From this period onwards the territory remained under the control of this dynasty till its downfall. So what type of arrangements were made for its administration from 740 to 800 A.D.? An attempt is made in the present paper to shed some light on this problem with the help of contemporary inscriptions.

The earliest epigraphic record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas pertaining to Gujarat is the Antroli-Chharoli grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkka.[4] The inscription registers village grant of Sthavarapallikā (Chharoli in Surat district of Gujarat) by that Chief. This clearly indicates that he was governing the territory, The charter is dated 757 A.D. Karkka is described as the son of Govinda, grandson of Dhruva and great grandson of Karkka. The seal of the charter has a figure of eagle which was the emblem of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The grantor of this charter Karkka, has not been satisfactorily identified so far. Following are the suggestions offered by scholars.

(1) According to fleet and Bhagwanlal Indraji Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkka I of this record the great grandfather of the donor Karkka was the same as Karkka, the grandfather of Dantidurga. Karkka II of the Antroli-Chharoli plates would thus become the great grandson of Karkka Pratapaśīla.[5]

(2) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar had equated grantor Karkka with Karkka Pratapaśīla, the grandfather of Dantidurga.[6]

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(3) Dr. Altekar was in favour of Bhagwanlal Indraji's suggestion but had an objection to it mainly on chronological basis.[7] He therefore suggested the possibility of Karkka I of being a son of Indra Pracchakaraja, but it can not be considered unless it is substantiated by other strong evidence.

The date mentioned in the Antroli-Chharoli record i.e. 757 A.D. undoubtedly speaks of Karkka's contemporaneity with Dantidurga and Krishna I. So the identification of Karkka II of the Antroli—Chharoli record with Dantidurga's grandfather as suggested by Bhandarkar is out of question. Bhagwanlal Indraji s suggestion seems to be probable. Dr. Altekar's objection to it does not stand since the chronology of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas as suggested by him has been proved to be far from reality.[8] According to the latest epigraphic evidence Karkka Pratapaśīla's reigning period was quite long, covering the 2nd half of the 7th century A.D.[9] There is thus a sufficient gap between the probable date of Karkka Pratapaśīla and 757 A.D. The date of the Antroli-Chharoli grant, in which the four rulers mentioned in it can easily be placed. Dhruva of the present inscription was probably the eldest son of Karkka Pratapaśīla. This explains the contemporaneity between his grandson Dantidurga and great grandson Karkka of the Antroli Chharoli grant. The doubt expressed by Dr. Altekar as to how Dantidurga chose his distant nephew ignoring his two mature uncles Nanna and Krishna also does not hold any ground. The appointment of Vijayāditya Mānāvaloka by Krishna I to assist Prince Govinda II in his compaign against the Chālukyas of Vengi shows that trusted and capable persons were assigned key posts even though they were distant kinsmen.[10] On the contrary Dr. Altekar has rightly pointed out that Dantidurga might have awarded the governorship of Gujarat to Karkka II for his meritorious services, rendered by him in the conquest of Gujarat. The close association between Karkka II and Dantidurga is further attested to by another fact. Dantidurga mentions Karkka Pratapaśīla as the founder of the Imperial house in his Ellora plates. Karkka II also does the same thing in this Antroli-Chharoli grant. We do not have any other epigraphic evidence about this Karkka. But the reference to a Gurjara King arriving with his armies to assist Dantidurga occurring in the Ellora Dashavatara cave inscription may be pertaining to him only as there is no other Gurjara King known to have served Dantidurga.[11] If this is accepted it will shed atleast some light on the services rendered by Karkka of Gujarat to his overlord Dantidurga in his other conquests also. The issuing of charter without any reference to his overlord may suggest that after the death of Dantidurga he probably defied the central authority. The description of Karkka II as '*Samadhigata pañcamahāśabda Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja parmeśvara*' occuring in the Antroli plates strengthens this belief. The reference to a clash between Krishna I and one of his relatives as found in some inscriptions may be pertaining to Karkka II of Gujarat which probably forced Krishna I to oust this ill-behaved relative from his position as the feudatory ruler of Gujarat.[12] Nothing is heard of Karkka or his descendents after that. Karkka of the Antroli-Chharoli grant was thus the ruler of Gujarat from circa 740 to 760 A.D.

What setps were taken by Krishna I about the administration of Gujarat after this ? There is no inscription discovered so far suggesting the direct rule of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas over Gujarat during the period from 760 to 800 A.D. In this respect the re-assessment of the contents of the Daulatabad plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa may shed some light on this problem.[13]

On the basis of the findspot of this inscription (Daulatabad near Ellora in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra) Dr. Altekar thought that Krishna had assigned the administration of Ellora-Aurangabad region to his Younger brother Nanna Guṇāvaloka and the latter's son Śaṅkaragaṇa Samarāvaloka succeeded to it as his patrimony under Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa.[14] This presumption does not seem to be correct because till the reign of Govinda III the capital of the Imperial Raṣṭrakūṭas was at Ellora itself.[15] Then how this territory can be assigned to a subordinate ? Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the editor of the Daulatabad plates has clearly stated that though the record originally belonged to Śaṅkaragaṇa, a forged engraving was done on it some time afterwards. A minute study of the forged date and place names occurring in it shows that though it was discovered at Daulatabad, the record has nothing to do with the geography of that region. On the contrary the possibility of its journey from Gujarat to Daulatabad is indicated by the following factors :

(1) In the forged part of the inscription in question, the date is mentioned as ' Śri Bhaṭṭāraka 800 ' which according to the editor is the Valabhi-era corresponding to A.D. 1119. It is also probably the date of fabrication. It shows that the forged matter was engraved on the said grant in the 12th century. If it is Valabhi Era as suggested by the editor we have to accept that the document has travelled from Gujarat to Daulatabad, because the possibility of the prevalence of this era is only in Gujarat and not in Marathwada.

(2) Several place names have been recorded in the grant portion of the forged document, none of which has been identified by the editor. While specifying the boundaries of the forged granted village a place name Jambugrahāraka occurs which has striking affinity with Jambusaraka, a place name occurring in several inscriptions from Gujarat as the residential place of donee Brahmanas The place has been identified with Jambusar near Surat.

(3) In the original grant portion the preceptor of Śaṅkaragaṇa, Vāsudeva Brahmacārī has been described as the resident of Tenvi which is probably Ten near Surat. This place name occurs in inscriptions from Gujarat as Treyanna or Tenna.[17] In several inscriptions from Gujarat the donees are Brahmacārīs.

(4) The editor further informs us that the owner of the copper plate in question was a Brahma-Kṣatriya whose family had migrated from Gujarat and settled at Daulatabad.

These facts undoubtedly makes it clear that the gifted villages as well as the grantees mentioned in the original as well as the forged parts of the Daulatabad plates were from Gujarat. The Original part containing the name of the grantor Śaṅkaragaṇa mentions the date as S'.715 (i.e. 793 A.D.) and the name of Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa as his overlord It shows that during the last decade of the 8th century A.D Śaṅkaragaṇa Samarāvaloka was holding the charge of southern Gujarat as a feudatory of Dhruva. We do not have any evidence indicating the appointment of Śaṅkaragaṇa as the viceroy of Gujarat by the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The only alternative is to accept the appointment of Śaṅkaragaṇa's father Nanna Guṇāvaloka by his brother and overlord Krishna I after the outster of Karkka II of the Antroli-Chharoli grant sometime around 760 A.D. Śaṅkaragaṇa was probably continued in the same position as Nanna's successor by Dhruva.

The present study thus reveals three phases of the rule of the feudatories of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas over Lāṭa. During the first phase of about 20 years from 740 to 760 Karkka II ruled over this region. For the next forty years Nanna Guṇāvaloka and his son Śaṅkaragaṇa governed the territory and in the third phase corresponding to 800 to 900 A.D. it was governed by the house of Indra, the son of Dhrva and brother of Govinda III.

What were the circumstances leading to the second change ? The explanation to this problem we get from the Bodhgaya inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Tuṅga Dharmāvaloka who calls himself as the grandson of Nanna Guṇāvaloka[18] and the son of Kirtirāja. The inscription in question belongs to the 15th regnal year of Tuṅga and on palaleographic grounds has been assigned to 9th century A.D. Since Śaṅkaragaṇa is the only known son of Nanna Guṇāvaloka, we have to accept him to be the brother of Kīrtirāja and the uncle of Tuṅga even though it is not mentioned in the Bodhgaya inscription. The probable date of Tuṅga is also in keeping with this surmise. The mention of the 15th regnal year suggests suggests that Tuṅga was ruling over Bodhgaya for quite a long time, probably as a representative and subordinate of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa was the first Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor to dash to the north. We know from the Daulatabad plates that Śaṅkaragaṇa was his contemporary and feudatory of Gujarat. The possibility of Śaṅkaragaṇa's participation in Dhruva's northern campaign therefore cannot be ruled out. It is also possible that after his victories in the north Dhruva might have left Śaṅkaragaṇa as his representative to govern the conquered territory and Tuṅga Dharmāvaloka inherited the same position from his uncle Śaṅkaragaṇa. The vacancy of the viceroyalty of Gujarat was probably filled up by Dhruva himself and not by Govinda as suggested by Dr. Altekar, by appointing his son Indra as the Viceroy of Gujarat who continued to rule under Govinda III. Indra's son Karkka Suvarṇavarṣa not only successfully managed the affairs of Gujarat but played the role of a regent-protector of the boy-emperor Amoghavarṣa I. A prolonged war began between Amoghavarṣa and the Gujarat branch at the middle of the 9th century A.D. The emperor ultimately suppressed the revolt. For sometime he appears to have brought Gujarat under imperial control as indicated by his Tarsadi or Ahmedabad plates which is the only charter recording village grants in Gujarat by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor before Krishna II.[19]

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes mentioned in Badayur,[20] Pathari[21] and other inscriptions in the north were probably the representatives left behind by the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Madhya Deśa. This fact goes against the assumption that the northern campaigns of the Rāṣṭrakūtas were mere *digvijayas*.[22] The northern campaigns undertaken by Govinda III, Indra III and Krishna III may have been in support of their northern feudatories. A detailed study of the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the north may reveal some more interesting facts.

N*ote* :

The rule of a chief named Nanna over Central Gujarat at about 788 A.D. is indicated by the Hilol plates of Mahāsāmanta Chandrāditya. In this charter Chandrāditya has mentioned the name of his overlord which H. D. Sankalia has read as Kakka or Nanna (E.I. Vol. XXXIV pp. 213-18).

D. C. Sircar has read the same name as Kakka only. He has proposed the identification of this—Kakka with Kakka II of the Antroli-Chharoli record dated 757 or his descendent bearing the same name. (E.I. XXXIV, pp. 219-222).

The identification of this Kakka with his name sake of the Antroli-Chharoli grant is untenable, because according to A. S. Altekar he was annihilated by Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Krishna I long before the date of the Hilol plates as mentioned above; so the question of the existence of his descendent does not arise. Even if the view is accepted for the sake of argument the gap of 31 years between the Antroli-Chharoli and Hilol charters is conspicuous. Such a long reign cannot be taken for granted unless it is supported by other evidences.

Sankalia has suggested the identification of this Kakka with his namesake and the father of Rāshṭrakuṭa Parabala known from the Pathavi inscription from Madhya Pradesh (E.I. Vol. IX, pp. 248-256). But in this case also the gap of about three quarters of a century between the reigns of successive rulers makes the conjecture impossible.

It shows that there is something wrong in the reading of the name Kakka. Sankalia has already suggested Nanna as its alternative reading. In spite of its dismissal by D. C. Sircar it can be said that Sankalia was correct in suggesting the alternative reading for Kakka as Nanna because a minute study of the fascimile of the Hilol plates reveals that the '*K*' akṣara of the word Kakka is similar with '*N*' of the word *abhisthāna* appearing in the first line and it is different from '*K*' of the word *Kheṭaka* occurring in the same line. So the name of the overlord of Chandrāditya will have to be read as Nanna and the later will have to be identified with Nanna Guṇāvaloka, the brother of Rāṣṭrakūta king Krishṇa I who was appointed as the administrator of Gujarat by the king following the ouster of the Kakka II of the Antroli-Chharoli grant as discussed above. Chronologically also this identification looks sound because the date of Nanna as mentioned in the Hilol plates is 788 whereas according to the Daulatabad plates of Śankaragaṇa, the son of Nanna, the date of the latter's rule over Gujarat is 793 A.D.

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SAUBHĀGYALAHARĪ OF ŚAṄKARASOMANĀTHA— A LITTLE-KNOWN LAHARĪ-KĀVYA

By

MUKUND LALJI WADEKAR *

Introductory

The Sanskrit Literature has a rich and varied treasure of several kinds of *Kāvyas*, poetic compositions. Besides the *Mahākāvyas* and *Khaṇḍakāvyas*, written by the greatest poets of the galaxy of Sanskrit Literature, there are also other smaller poetic compositions, containing short but good specimens of poetry. *Stotras*, written in praise of favourite deities, are also such poems that are replete with devotional sentiments. Among several varities of such devotional songs or *stotras*, those known as *Laharīkāvyas* are also in great number. The *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya and the *Gaṅgālaharī* of Jagannātha Paṇḍita are the most famous among them. In the present paper, an attempt is made to introduce the *Laharīkāvya*, entitled *Saubhāgyalaharī*, a rare and quite little-known one, composed by a scholar, Śaṅkarasomanātha of 1644 A.D.

A Rare Work

Several *stotra*-works have been published in different *stotra*-collections like the *stotrārṇava*, the *stotraratnākara* etc. But the present *Laharīkāvya* is not found in them. In the *Catalogus Catalogorum*,[1] there is mention of a *stotra*, named *Saubhāgyalaharī*, but it is a different work, composed by the poet Gopālakṛṣṇa, who is evidently quite different from the author of the work under consideration. Similarly, Prof. Krishnamachariar[2] also refers to the same *Kāvya*, which is mentioned by Aufrecht in his Catalogue. The present work of Śaṅkarasomanātha has not been taken notice of by these scholars. Thus it is

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* Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda. Paper read at the 16th Annual Conference of Gujarat State Uni. and College Sk. Teachers' Association, held at Shamalaji 27-29 March 1991.

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[2] Krishnamachariar, M. : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Third ed., 1974, p. 518, fn. 5.

a very rare and little-known *stotra*-work, composed by a forgotten poet of Sanskrit literature, namely Śaṅkarasomanātha.

Two Mss. in the Oriental Institute

The *Saubhāgyalaharī* of Śaṅkarasomanātha is available in two Mss. of the Oriental Institute, Baroda (with Acc. Nos. 5099 and 7153), of which the Ms. No. 5099 contains the work in its incomplete form, while fortunately the other Ms. No. 7153 has preserved it in its complete form. But the Mss. are so much corrupt that it is very difficult to edit the said work on the basis of these available Mss. However, we get a very good idea about the entire *stotra* from them.

Both the Mss. have recorded in the colophon that it is a work called *Saubhāgyalaharī*, composed by Śaṅkarasomanātha. The MS. No 5099 has totally eleven folios having eight lines on each page with 41 letters to a line. Written on countrymade paper of 23 cms. × 10 cms. size, the Ms. is fairly readable, owing to its good handwriting. The first folio contains *Kālyaṣṭaka* of Viṣṇu. The second one is missing. Only the folios from 3 to 11 are available. The third folio begins the *stotra* from '*Śivacayamudagrā dadatu me*' in 13d. Moreover, the portion of the *stotra* from 47^b to 55^b is also missing. The Ms. has preserved the work in a very corrupt and incomplete form.

The other Ms. No. 7153 contains the work in its complete form. It also has totally eleven folios, with about 12 lines on each page and about 29 letters to each line. Written on country-made paper of 24 cm × 14 cms. size, the Ms. is readable, but the hand-writing is not good. It is also very corrupt at several places. But we get the complete idea of the contents of the *stotra* from this Ms. From the postcolophon entries, we get some information about the scribe and the date of copying the Ms. The name of the scribe seems to be Kāmeśvara. He has written this Ms. on eleventh day in the dark fortnight of the month of *Āsvina* in *Vikrama Saṁvat* 1798 (i.e. 1742 A.D.).[3] Thus this is a complete and dated manuscript of the work, under consideration.

Author

As is evident from the last verse (No. 101) of the *stotra*[4] the author of the *stotra*, *Saubhāgyalaharī* is Śaṅkara, the son of Somanātha. But the colophon records that *Paṇḍita* i.e. Scholar Śaṅkarasomanātha, is servant at the feet of

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[3] संवत् १७९८ वर्षे आश्विनमासे कृष्णपक्षे ११ । लिखितं त्र. कामेश्वरः । श्रीः ॥

[4] सुतः सोमेशस्य प्रथितकमठाणद्विजपते—
रसाङ्केपूर्व्यब्दे सविजयपुरे शङ्करसुधीः ।
महः काश्यां प्राभाकरमलघुलब्धाशुफलदां
नभस्यास्थानज्ञेऽरचयदिह सौभाग्यलहरीम् ॥ १०१ ॥

Śaṅkarī (i.e. Goddess) and is an ornament to the entire family of poets.[5] Thus the poet was not only a scholar and devout worshipper of Goddess, but was also quite well-versed in the field of poetry, obtaining highest distinctions and reputation among the assembly of poets.

In the last verse (101), the author also refers to the date of composition of this *stotra*, which is 1566 (whether it is *Śaka* or *Saṁvat* is not explicity mentioned.[6] It may be either 1566+78=1644 A.D. or 1566-56=1510 A.D.). It was perhaps composed at the occasion of a great Sacrifice in Kāśī, hosted by Prabhākara.[7]

Regarding his place of residence, we get some information in the said verse (101)[8] and in verse (46)[9]. From the verse No. 46, it seems that he was a Mahārāṣṭrian, as he refers to himself as a *Mahārāṣṭraśiśu*. Moreover, in verse No. 101, he refers to Vijayapura, which may be present Vijāpur[10]. In this light, we may again consider the point about the date of the poet. If he is believed to be a Mahārāṣṭrian, the reference to the date in verse No. 101, must be to *Śaka* era and not to *Vikrama Saṁvat*, as *Śaka* era is generally followed by the Mahārāṣṭrains. Hence the date of the author must be 1644 A.D. from this point of view. Thus the poet was probably the contemporary of Jagannātha Paṇḍita, whose literary activity (according to Mm. P. V. Kane)[11] lies between 1620 A.D. and 1660 A.D.

About his ability and the efficiency of composition of poetry, the poet humbly and politely implores that the Goddess should forgive him for the faults and defects, just as the prattling of the child rejoices others or just as a master listens the indistinct words of a parrot with great curiosity, after training it before-hand.[12] Moreover, it is the wish of the Goddess herself that makes him talk in her praise.[13]

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[5] इति श्रीमत्सकलकविकुलललामशङ्करीचरणकिङ्करीभूतशङ्करसोमनाथपण्डितविरचितः सौभाग्यलहरीस्तवः समाप्तः ॥

[6] Cf. fn. 4 above

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] तदीयाङ्के शङ्के हरगृहिणि पङ्केरुहदृशा
　　जनीनां साध्वीनां जननि खनिरस्तीति निभृतम् ।
अदः स्मारादारात्सकृदपि महाराष्ट्रशिशुना-
　　प्यमत्तं स्त्रीरत्नं सपदि समवाप्यङ्कविषये ॥ ४६ ॥

[10] Cf. fn. 4; Joshi, Mahadev Shastri : *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛtikośa*, Poona, 1974, See P. 670 *Vijāpura*.

[11] Kane P. V. : *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Bombay, 1951, p. 312.

[12] हरीशाजस्तुत्ये मम कृतिमिमां संश्रृणु यतः
　　प्रसूः श्राव्यं हित्वा शिशुकल्पनैर्हर्षतितमाम् ।

The Stotra—General Remarks

This *stotra* has totally 101 verses, written in the *Śikhariṇī* metre (which is mostly found in the *Laharīkāvya*s). In this *stotra*, the poet has eulogised his favourite deity—the Mother Goddess. Therefore, the entire *stotra* abounds in devotional sentiment, fanciful imaginations and figures of speech.[14] The poet has good mastery over prosody, grammar and the language, in the absence of which it is impossible to compose such a long *stotra* of 101 verses. However, some

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स्वयं संशिक्ष्याथ प्रभव इह सत्पञ्जरशुकं
तदीयामस्पष्टां गिरमपि हि श्रृण्वन्ति कुतुकात् ॥ १०० ॥

13 अविद्यापद्यायां त्रिजगदनवद्याङ्गि सकलं
परिभ्रान्तं तत्त्वं तव किमपि नो वेत्ति जननि ।
तथापि त्वत्पादाम्बुजरतिरियं मे प्रतिलवं
त्वदिच्छातः स्तोतुं मुखरयति दोषो न हि मयि ॥ २ ॥

14 गिरो नान्दीपाठः करणचयकौशीलवगणं
नटोऽहं मच्चित्तं विरचयति वैदुष्यकक्रृतिः ।
नटी बुद्धिर्मेता(मे सा)त्वमयुगदृशा नाटकमिषाद्
अहं यद्यत्कुर्वे तदखिलमुमे तेऽस्तु यजनम् ॥ ६ ॥
त्वदीयं वन्देऽहं चरणयुगलं यत्र गिरिजे
सरस्वत्याच्छन्ना वसति नु सदालक्तकमिषात् ।
यतस्त्वत्पादाब्जागतजलपिपासोरपि मुखात्
सगद्या सत्पद्या व्रजति नवविद्याजलनदी ॥ २८ ॥
भवत्सेवा नौका भवति भवती नाविकगुरु-
स्तथा सत्क्षेपिण्यौ जननि भवदाजानुचरणौ ।
ययोर्ध्यानादेव प्रबलमपि संसारजलधिं
जनस्तीर्त्वा गच्छत्यपि च शिवसायुज्यपदवीम् ॥ ४२ ॥
गले तिस्रो रेखास्तव ननु महेशानमहिले
सदा नः कल्याणं प्रतनु कलयन्तां जननि ताः ।
वपुष्मन्तो वेदास्त्रय इह वसन्तीति कलये
त्वदाज्ञां ब्रह्माद्या दधति हि शिरोभिर्यदनिशम् ॥ ६८ ॥
तमस्ते धम्मिल्ले रविरपि च सीमन्तफलके
मुखे चन्द्रो मातस्त्वदधरदले लोहिततनुः ।
दृशांपाते सौम्यो वचसि गुरुकाव्यौ ग्रहमयि
स्मिते मन्दः सा त्वं भव मयि सदा सद्ग्रहवती ॥ ९६ ॥

verses are defective from the point of view of grammar and metre.[15] The Mss. are so corrupt that sometimes it is very difficult to decide, whether these are grammatical irreguliarities or scribal errors only. There is great influence of the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya, as there are verses, having similarity in words, phrases and ideas.[16]

Thus the *Saubhāgyalaharī* is a rare, but an interesting and important *stotra*, written by a poet of 17th century. The present research paper is written with a view to introducing this rare *stotra*-work to the world of scholars. It is an attempt to salvage the said *stotra*, from going into complele oblivion and bringing to light the said contribution of the poet to Sanskrit literature in general and to the *Laharīkāvyas* in particular.

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[15] e. g. तृतीया ते दृष्टिः परमशिवकल्याणकरि सा । verse 79.
भ्राती वन्दे मातस्तव सुचिरमाकाशकुहरम् । verse 80.

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	सौभाग्यलहरी	सौन्दर्यलहरी
1	अहं यद्यत्कुर्वे तदखिलमुमे तेऽस्तु यजनम् । —6	सपर्यापर्यायस्तव भवतु यन्मे विलसितम् । —27
2	भयेभ्यः संत्रातुं फलमपि च दातुं बहुविधम् । —38	भयात्त्रातुं दातुं फलमपि च वाञ्छासमधिकम् । —4
3	अदः स्मारादारात्सकृदपि महाराष्ट्रशिशुना । —46	दयावत्या दत्तं द्रविडशिशुरास्वाद्य तव यत् । —75
4	शिवस्त्वं जीवस्त्वं क्षितिमुखमहत्तत्त्वनिवह- स्त्वमेव त्वं चेतःप्रभृतिकरणं त्वं हि सकलम् । —23	मनस्त्वं व्योम त्वं मरुदसि मरुत्सारथिरसि त्वमापस्त्वं भूमिस्त्वयि परिणतायां न हि परम् । —35
5	नितम्बे पृथ्वी त्वं मनसि च दयार्द्रा जलमयि महो रूपा भाले समदृशि जगत्प्राणसुभगा । वियन्मध्ये चेत्त्वं जननि सकलं तत्त्वमसि सा मम स्वान्ते शान्ते परमशिवकान्ते वस सदा ॥ —94	अराला केशेषु प्रकृतिसरला मन्दहसिते शिरीषाभा चित्ते दृषदिव कठोरा कुचतटे । मृशं तन्वी मध्ये पृथुरुरसिजारोहविषये जगत्त्रातुं शम्भोर्जयति करुणा काचिदरुणा ॥ —92

Acharya, Ram Narayan : *Saundaryalaharī of Śaṅkarācārya*, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1961.

THE ACCOUNT OF RALPH FITCH—A STUDY

By

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The only lay European traveller known to have visited Akbar's dominions, and to have recorded his impressions at any considerable length is Ralph Fitch, who left England in 1583 and returned in 1591.[1]

Ralph Fitch describes Akbar as dressed in white muslin. He says that Akbar was " apparelled in a white cabie (Qaba, that is a muslin tunic) tied with string on the one side, and a little cloth on his head, coloured often times with red or yellow."[2]

Akbar's cotton dress as noticed by Fitch leads us to an investigation about the practice of wearing fine cotton clothes in Mughal India. In this matter Dr. Fabri says that......the diaphanous muslin dress was '*de rigeur*' as the fashionable wear at court for a brief while at the end of Akbar's reign and for a few years after.[3]

That cotton dress was the fashion of the day, gets support in the fact that in *Ain i-Akbari*, the price of cotton is higher than the price of silks, satins and brocades.[4]

In the description of Akbar's dress given by V. A. Smith we find that his upper garment was ordinarily made of some thin material interwoven with gold thread and decorated with embroidered patterns of flowers and foliage, reaching a little below his knees. On his head Akbar wore a small tightly rolled turban enriched with pearls and gems of inestimable value and his trousers made of

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 40, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec., 1990 Issue, pp. 89-98.

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1. Smith, V. A., *Akbar the great Mogul*, S. Chand and Co. Ltd., Ram Nagar, New Delhi-110055, 3rd Indian Reprint, 1966, p. 348.

2. Foster, William, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055.

3. Fabri, Dr. Charles, *A History of Indian Dress*, Orient Longmans, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, New Delhi, 124 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi, First Published, 1960, p. 82.

4 Allami, Abu-L-Fazl, *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Translated into English by H. Blochmann; edited by S. L. Goomer; Published by Naresh C. Jain for New Imperial Book Depot, 53/D Dev Nagar, N. Delhi, 5, 2nd edition 1965. pp. 98-102.

finest material extended down to his heels where they were tucked in and held by a knot of pearls.[5] Prof. A. L. Srivastava holds that Akbar used to put on silk clothes beautifully embroidered in gold.[6] Since Monserrate's Commentarius is the source of information about the dress of Akbar, both, for Smith and Prof. Srivastava, possibly the thin material for the Upper garment of Akbar has been taken for a fine silken material by Prof. Srivastava, whereas in all probability it was fine muslin, a cotton material.

The description of Akbar's dress as given by Smith, seems to be of Akbar's dress for his court and the description of the dress given by Fitch was probably of Akbar's dress on informal occasions. Though Smith has pointed out the authenticity of R Fitch's account,[7] he has not paid any attention to the description of Akbar's dress given by R. Fitch. Smith, however, observes that Fitch possibly did not have any formal meeting with Akbar.[8]

That cotton dress was the dress for informal occasions, is pointed out by Charles Fabri on the basis of his studies of Mughal paintings. In this connection he refers to the picture of prince Khusrau fat and jovial, leaning against a mighty large bolster, relaxing in a white muslin coat.[9] That a dress called Qaba made out of fine cotton stuff was a dress for the summer for Akbar and that it continued to be in favour of a summer wear up to 1707, has been observed by an author.[10] Ralph Fitch who arrived at Agra and Fatepur-Sikri in September 1585,[11] might have seen Akbar sometime in September or October. As it is the end of the hot season in these parts of India, he might have seen Akbar occasionally in that cotton shirt with a piece of cotton cloth coloured as red or yellow covering his head.

So after examining all the data at our disposal, we can reach the conclusion that Smith's description of Akbar's dress was the dress for the audience-hall while Fitch's description is the description of the informal dress of Akbar, though cotton stuff was the material for the dress of Akbar on both formal & informal occasions. That cotton was the material for the dress in hot seasons,

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5 Smith, V. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 242-243.

6 Srivastava, A. L., *Akbar the Great*, Vol. I, Shiv Lal Agarwala & Co. (P) Ltd., Publishers, Agra, Delhi, Jaipur, First Impression, July 1962, pp. 491-492.

7 Smith, V. A., *op. cit.*, p. 471.

8. The traveller seems to have seen Akbar, but says nothing about an interview with him—Smith, V. A., *op. cit.*, p. 349.

9. Fabri, Dr. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

10. Ansari, M. A., *Social Life of the Mughal Emperors (1526-1707)*, Shanti Prakashan, Allahabad & Delhi, 1974, p. 6.

11. Smith, V. A., *op. cit.*, p. 349.

as observed by an author, is believable because in North India a simple cotton wear could not suffice in cold seasons.

We learn from Fitch that in this period Ujjain, Seringe, Burhanpur, Banaras, Patna, Tanda in Malda District of Bengal, Bacola (Bakarganj in modern Bangladesh), Sonargaon (in Bangaladesh), Serrepore (Sripur, near, Rajabari at the confluence of the Meghna and the Padma), Anjeli (Hijili) in Orixa (Orissa) were the centres of trade of cotton and cotton cloth. Burhanpur the capital of Khandesh was a great centre for the making of cotton cloth and painted clothes of cotton wool.[12] Tanda was another important centre of trade and traffic of cotton and cotton cloth.[13] From the court of Angeli (Hijili) in Orissa cotton cloth was supplied for India.[14] About Sonargaon, we are told, that it was the of centre the best and finest cotton in the whole of India.[15]

According to Fitch, Agra and Fatehpur were two very great cities either of them much greater than London and very populous. The observation of Fitch leads to a natural enquiry about the London of the contemporary period. It has been observed by an author that the London of Elizabeth I, was still a medieval city. Its narrow irregular streets and small low-pitched dwellings were ill-fitted to contain a population growing every year in number and prosperity. In 1580 Her Majesty was induced by considered opinion of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and other grave wise men to issue a Proclamation suggesting a remedy.[16]

We, however, get somewhat apparently different fact from a foreign traveller, Frederick, duke of Würtemberg who visited London in 1592. The Duke of Würtemberg says that London ' is a large, excellent and mighty city of business . . . . very populous and the inhabitants are magnificently apparelled and the women . . go out in exceedingly fine clothes. . . . . . '[17].

But this city so impressive for the Duke, looked much smaller than Agra and Fatepur in the eyes of Fitch. Possibly the houses of London outwardly unimpressive compared unfavourably with the houses of Fatepur and Agra. We are told that the houses of London in Elizabethan times were very narrow in the front towards the street, ... ' that in truth all the magnificence of London building was hidden from the view of strangers at the first sight till they had more particular view thereof . . . .,'[18] The lofty buildings of Fatepur and Agra and the grandeur of these cities might have contrasted with the outwardly unimpressive buildings and narrow streets of London. Because we are told that in 1571 Akbar came back to Sikri and took up his quarters in the Shaikh's residence; ' now his heart desired to give outward splendour to the obscure village Sikri (later named Fatepur) which possessed spiritual grandeur since his exalted sons Salim and Murad had taken their birth in Sikri and the God-knowing spirit of Shaikh Salim had taken possession thereof. So an order was issued that the superintendents of affairs should erect lofty buildings for the use of the Shahinshah. A wall of masonry was built round the town . . . and dwellings of all classes were constructed, as well as schools, baths, and other public institutions.[19]

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[12] Foster, William, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[13] *Ibid*, p. 24.

[14] *Ibid*, p. 25-26.

[15] *Ibid*, p. 28.

[16] Stuart, Dorothy, M. : *London Through the Ages*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 36 Essex Street, Strand W C 2, First Published in 1956, p. 118.

[17] Wilson, John Dover, *Life in Shakespeare's England*, Harmondswork, Middlesex, England; First Published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911, Reissued in Penguin Shakespeare Library, 1968, pp. 116-117.

It is, however, noteworthy that in size also Fatepur and Agra were greater than London according to R. Fitch. Regarding Agra, Fitch says that ' Agra is a very great city and populous, built with stone, having fair and large streets, with a fair river running by it which falleth into the gulf of Bengal.'[20]

Regarding Agra as a very big city and very populous we find a graphic description in Jahangir's autobiography. According to Jahangir the city of Agra was one of the greatest in Hindustan. . . . . . The numerous lofty structures such as mosques of great magnitude, baths, caravanserais, and splendid private palaces of the city would place it on a par with the most celebrated cities in Irak, Khorasan etc., and even the ordinary dwellings of its inhabitants were mostly three or four stories high. As regards the density of the population of Agra, Jahangir says that in the evening hours the streets were so much crowded that without utmost difficulty nobody could pass through the streets. Jahangir further says, that he directed the Kotwal, the superintendent of police, one day to make a tour through the city and count the individuals assembled in different ' maarekahs ' or theatres of athlete or pugilists; the report of the Kotwal was that in none of these places did he find less than two or three thousand persons assembled, though it was not a day of any festival. . . . or any of those days of public rejoicings. We learn further from Jahangir that everyday throughout the year not less than ten thousand loads of fuels were conveyed to Agra by boats along the Jamuna and the entire lot was sold off in that very day so that the next morning not a piece of fuel could be had. And for nearly eight months which was the duration of the dry season not less than five to six thousand horses for sale daily entered the city of Agra from Kabul and from other countries of that direction and those were disposed of so rapidly that even one horse could not be purchased on the succeeding day. So Jahangir makes the remark that he did not know if there was any city in the whole world that could be compared with Agra in size or in population.[21]

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[18] *Ibid*, pp. 117-118.

[19] Smith, V. A., *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1917, p. 105.

[20] Foster, William, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Though it has been observed that Agra in 1558 was a town of comparatively small importance,[22] it is noteworthy that the city had become so remarkably big and populous by the time of the arrival of R. Fitch by 1885 and had become so impressive by the time when Jahangir began to rule. Jahangir, however, tells us that in earlier times, even prior to the supremacy of the Afghans, Agra had been a city of considerable magnitude and it had been spoken in the terms of admiration by a poet of Ghazni in the time of Massaoud, the son of Ibrahim, the twelfth of the race of Sabuktagin, Mahmud Ghazi being the fourth.[23]

As regards Fatepur, we are told on the basis of data drawn from original sources that Fatepur in 1571 was just a village.[24] But in 1585 when R. Fitch visited Agra and Fatepur,Fatepur was a big city and according to him it was bigger than Agra and bigger than London too.[25] It has been pointed out that the construction of the buildings of Fatepur continued for fourteen or fifteen years.[26]

Fitch says that between Agra and Fatepur there was a distance of twelve[27] miles and all the way there was a market of victuals and other things as full 'as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market'.[28] So this description of a crowded highway existing between Agra and Fatepur, giving the impression of a busy town, is worthnoting

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[21] Price, Major David, *Autobiographical Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir*, Published by J. K. Ahuja for Rare Books Inc. 24/4 Shakti Nagar at Rekha Prints, N. Delhi-55, pp. 18-20.

[22] Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, S. Chand & Co. Ltd., Ram Nagar, N. Delhi-110055, 2nd ed., 3rd Indian Reprint, 1966, p. 30.

[23] Price, Majer David, *op. cit*, pp. 19-20.

[24] Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1917, p. 105.

[25] R. Fitch arrived at Agra and Fatepur Sikri in September, 1585. Smith, V. A., *Ibid*, p. 471.

[26] Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, S. Chand & Co. Ltd., N. Delhi, 3rd Indian Reprit, p. 75.

[27] The distance between Agra and Fatepur was actually a distance of 23 miles. Foster, William, *op. cit*, p. 18, n.1.

[28] Foster, William, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

According to Fitch, Akbar had in Agra and Fatepur eight hundred concubines.[29] According to Abul Fazl the number of the inmates of Akbar's harem was more than five thousand.[30] Possibly eight hundred women belonged to the first rank of the inmates of Akbar's harem. Because from Abul Fazl we have learnt about the several grades of women of Akbar's seraglio.[31]

Fitch tells us about Akbar's pet leopards, tigers, tame deer, buffaloes, cocks and hawks.[32] It is surprising that he does not say anything about the pet pigeons of Akbar. These pigeons were more than twenty thousand in number. Akbar was specially fond of pigeon flying, and the best among the twenty thousand pigeons of Akbar was one called Mohana and it was Akbar's most favourite of all the pigeons.[33] We learn further from Abul Fazl that Akbar called pigeon flying *Ishqbazi* (love-play). Presents of pigeons were sent by the kings of Iran and Turan; but merchants also brought very excellent ones in large numbers. Mohana, the most favourite pigeon of Akbar, was a well-trained pigeon of bluish colour.[34] Abul Fazl has given us interesting details about Mohana's progeny and we also find detailed account of the department of pigeons in *Ain-i-Akbari*.[35]

The reason for the omission of pigeons in the list of Akbar's pet animals in Fitch's account, is possibly due to the fact that the animals, mentioned by Fitch, were those which were used by Akbar in hunting. But the pigeons belonged to the palace and they were meant for his indoor diversions. The pigeons were, however, not fully away from public gaze, because on the war expeditions and the breaking of camps, the pigeons followed, and their cots, were carried by bearers (*Kahars*).[36]

As regards Akbar's pet leopards mentioned by Fitch, we learn from Abul Fazl that Akbar had one thousand pet leopards. Each leopard had a name which indicated some of its qualities.[37] The best one was called Samand-Manik. He used to be carried on a '*Chau-dol*' and proceed with much pomp. Samand-manik's servants, fully-eqipped, ran at his side. The '*naqqara*' (a large drum) was beaten in front and sometimes Saman-manik was carried by two men on horse-back, the two ends of the pole of the '*Chau-dol*' resting on the necks of their horses.[38] We also learn from *Ain-i-Akbari* that other pet leopards were also carried on horse-back or on '*doolys*' or in carts drawn by four oxen.[39] Akbar's pet leopards numbered nine thousand according to Iqbalnama and here also we are told that Akbar was passionately fond of leopards and he hunted with leopards.[40]

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[29] Foster, William, *op. cit.*, p. 17
[30] Allami, Abu-L-Fazl, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Foster, William, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[33] Allami, Abu-L-Fazl, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311.
[34] *Ibid* pp. 310-315.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 298.

It is to be noted, further, that in his account R. Fitch has used the term ounces for the leopards of Akbar. One of the meanings of ounce is snow-leopard.[41] But these pet leopards of Akbar were possibly not snow-leopards. Because Jahangir in the third year of his reign saw for the first time a white leopard which was brought to him by Raja Narsingh Deo. Jahangir says that up to that time he had not seen any white leopard.[42]

Regarding Akbar's pet buffaloes, we learn from Abul Fazl that buffaloes were used in tiger-hunting. An intrepid experienced hunter would get on the back of a male-buffalo and would make it attack the tiger. The buffalo would quickly catch the tiger with its horns and toss it violently upwards, so that it would die.[43]

In describing Agra and Fatepur Fitch tells us about the two wheeled carts, many of which were carved and gilded with gold, drawn by two bulls, which were as big as the great dogs of England. and these bulls would run with any horse and carry two or three men in one of these carts.[44] These facts are corroborated by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari.* Abul Fazl says that the cows, apart from providing milk and helping in tillage, were capable of carrying burdens and drawing wheeled-carriages. Abul Fazl further tells us that the empire produced cattle of various kinds and those of Gujarat were the best. They would travel eighty '*Kos*' in twenty four hours and surpass even swift horses in speed. We also learn about selected cattle taken by Akbar on his hunting expeditions.[45] The facts about the speedy bulls and cows of India of Akbar's times, takes us back to the days of Candragupta Maurya. In connection with the amusements of the Maurya emperor, we are told about the ox-races, run with chariots to each of which a mixed team of horses and oxen were harnessed, with horses in the centre and an ox at each side.[46] These facts are taken by V. A. Smith from the account of Claudius Aelianus (generally known as Aelian). In the details given by Aelian we find that......the oxen ran at pace equal to that of the horses and one could not decide which was the fleeter, the ox or the horse.[47] We further learn from Aelian that there were in India oxen of another kind and those looked very much like goats. Those were yoked together and ran very fast, being not inferior in speed to the horses of the Getae.[48]

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[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 298-299.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 298, n. 4.

[41] Ostter George, *The Little Oxford Dictionary*, 3rd ed., Revised and supplimented by J. Coulson, Oxford, At The Clarendon Press, 1941, p. 345.

[42] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. VI, Ketab Mahal Private Ltd, Allahabad, First Indian Edition, 1964, pp. 316-317.

[43] Allami, Abu-L-Fazl, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

[44] Foster, William, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[45] Allami, Abu-L-Fazl, *op. cit.*, p. 157

Fitch remarks about the inhabitants of Satgaon (*Saptagrāma*) of Bengal situated near Hugli town, that the people of these parts were a kind of crafty people, worse than the Jews.[49] The simple reason for this kind of impression given by the people of Satgaon and the adjoining area, must be the fact that this was a great centre of trade. Fitch himself went from Agra to Satgaon along with about two hundred boats laden with salt, opium, hinge (asafoetida : hing in Hindi), lead, carpets, and diverse other commodities...... Fitch refers to the merchants of this area. (Foster, William, *op. cit* , p. 18)

The contradictory views of European and Chinese travellers regarding the moral character of the Bengalis of the middle ages, as quoted in an authoritative work,[50] can not help us in explaining the observation made by Fitch about the people of Satgaon. Joannes De Laet wrote in 1630 about the Bengalis that they were clever and shrewd but possessed despicable characters....Similar unfavourable opinions of foreign travellers about the Bengalis are noticed. But the Chinese travellers of the 15th century praised the honesty, kindness and generosity of the Bengalis.[51] In this matter it has been observed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the opinions of the Europeans regarding the shrewdness and lack of honesty of the Bengali character are not much exaggerated.[52] This kind of remark perhaps, is unwise and to some extent incorrect. Possibly some sections of the Bengali society, particularly the traders, were not men of ideal character and in matters of trade they were possibly comparable with the Jews. Fitch, however, has not said anything about other vices of Bengali character like debauchery, cowardice etc., as noticed in the accounts of foreign travellers, pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.[53]

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[46] Smith, V. A., *The Early History of India*, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1924, Fourth Edition, Revised by S. M. Edwards, p. 129.

[47] Majumdar, R. C., *The Classical Account of India*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, First Edition, 1960, 6/1A Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta 12, p. 418.

[48] *Ibid*, p. 419.

[49] Foster, William, *op cit.*, p. 19.

[50] Majumdar, R. C., *History of Medieval Bengal*, G. Bharadwaj & Co., 22-A College Row Calcutta-9, First Edition, September 1973, p. 243.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] *Ibid.*

Fitch tells us about the marriage of very little children in Berrampore (Burhanpur, on the Tapti, capital of Khandesh). He says that both in towns and villages through which he passed, he saw many such marriages. In such a marriage the age of the boy was eight or ten and that of the girl five or six. The reason for marrying children at such a young age was that it was an order that when a man died his wife was burnt with him; so if in case the father died and the mother got herself burnt along with her dead husband, there would be for a young boy, his father-in-law to help him.[54] So Fitch has given a new reason for the marriage of young children. This has nothing to do with any Dharmashastric rule. It had a practical reason, the cause of which was the prevalence of the custom *Satī*. Such a state of things was possibly true to the whole of India and not only to Khandesh.

According to Fitch camphor was a very precious article in India and it was costlier than gold. One type of it came from China and the other one which was the best, came from Borneo.[55]

In *Ain-i-Akbari*, four types of camphor are described. The best type of these four was called *Ribahi* or *Qaysuri*. This type was found by a king of Ribah or Ceylon.[56] According to Marco Polo another name of this type of camphor is *Fansuri* and Fansur is a state in Sumatra.[57] Possibaly the type of camphor which came from Borneo according to Ralph Fitch was this *Fansuri* or *Ribahi* camphor described in *Ain-i-Akbari*. There are three other types of camphor noticed in *Ain-i-Akbari*. These are *Qurquy, Kawkab* and *Bālas*. But none of these are described as imported ones in *Ain-i-Akbari*. We are simply told in *Ain-i-Akbari* that camphor trees grow in Hindustan and China. Abul Fazl however, does not say clearly that any kind of camphor came to India from China. In *Ain-i-Akbari* we get some interesting facts about camphor trees. We are told that a camphor tree is so large a tree that a hundred horsemen or more can rest in the shade of a single tree. And apart from the fact that snakes wind themselves round about camphor trees, Abul Fazl heard from people that camphor trees are much frequented by leopards. The leopards like camphor so much that they seldom leave them.[58]

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[53] *Ibid*, pp. 243-244.

[54] Foster, William, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

[55] *Ibid*. p. 46,

[56] Allami, Abu-L-Fazl, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[57] *Ibid*.

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[58] *Ibid.* p. 4,

LITERARY DUELS IN SANSKRIT

By

DHIRENDRANATH BANDYOPADHYAYA *

Rivalry due to jealousy and selfishness of man against man, group against group, caste against caste and nation against nation has been a very common feature of human psychology from the state of uncivilised society to the modern civilised world. For many centuries, physical power was superior to all powers in animal as well as human society. In the Dharmaśāstras *vyavahāra* (i.e. judicial proceeding) has been defined and explained in details. *Vākpāruṣya* or use of filthy language against others is one of the sixteen subjects of litigation. In the field of literature, rivalries for ism and personality have sometimes turned into wordy duels among literatures and their commentators and critics. Literature expresses not only high ideals and fine ideas, but the trifles and vagaries of life also. Art is great, but the artist may not be such; a good poet might not be a good man always. Sometimes famous writers are seen desperately arrogant towards their follow men, and critics grudgingly pass disparaging remarks even on best authors or famous books or vehemently attack those whom they do not like. Writers as satirists or critics are very interesting characters for study. Readers as critics study great books of literature, philosophy and religion, deeply admire the writers, appreciate their ideas, agree or disagree to their opinions, generalise the characters and situations with those of our practical life.

Being fully aware of the scholarship and academic distinction of the great personalities of the ancient Indian literature, the present writer has tried to collect some interesting points on the lighter side of their psychology as revealed through their idiosyncrasy or by stray remarks of different types of people of the literary world. Thus we find that the idealist and materialist philosophers, while establishing their respective views and refuting the views of other schools, enter into sharp disputations and often express their personal anger, annoyance and impatience against those who hold opposite views or preach different doctrines. The popular maxim of the pedants namely वादे वादे जायते तत्त्वबोधः is very famous for its double meaning. This *vāda* (i.e. debate) is one of the major points of तर्क (i.e. logical discourse) in Indian philosophy, all schools of which—the Hindu, the Jain and Buddhist, are conspicuous for their logical argumentation. When the philosopher asks: which is the right path to be followed by man from amongst so many divergent views of the wise, the *Mahābhārata* says:

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‘ तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः श्रुतयो विभिन्ना नास्ति मुनिर्यस्य मतं प्रमाणम् ।
धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥ ’

Debate is inconclusive, scriptures are divergent. There is not a single wiseman whose opinion is a proof. Essence of *Dharma* is hidden in mystery. The path followed by the great is the real one.

So the moderates forsake this mode of scholastic bombast and admit apologetically: नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया.

As Shakespeare may be criticised by a modern reviewer as a ‘damned humbug,’ so Vālmiki, to an ancient flamboyant, might be ‘a very bad poet indulging in nonsense’ or Vyāsa ‘a damned liar befooling the readers by his vagaries.’ It is pretty well when critics estimate the values of great books and find out their merits and demerits; but our surprise is almost embarrassing when we find that the *Ṛgveda* is estimated as merely a religious book or Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* may be branded as a third grade production. So, it is interesting to collect and review some of the literary duels as depicted by famous scholars themselves or traditionally built by other critics and readers.

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* an interesting anecdote is described in connection with a philosophical conference arranged by the king Janaka in his capital. The king, who was also a reputed scholar of that age, was the organiser-cum-president and Yājñavalkya was the most renowned scholar of all the participants. Erudite *pundits* from far and near attended the conference. Śākalya, one of the members, put a number of questions to Yājñavalkya who satisfactorily answered them all. But as Yajñavalkya had to face so many opponents and to solve a lot of complicated problems, he became very much impatient and ill-tempered by that time. He asked Śākalya only one question and reminded him of the grave consequence in case of the latter's failure :

‘ तं तु औपनिषदं पृच्छामि, तं चेन्मे न विवक्ष्यसि, मूर्धा ते विपतिष्यति । ’ III. 9.26

Unfortunately, Śākalya could not answer and lost his head :

तं ह न मेने शाकल्यः । तस्य ह मूर्धा विपपात । *Ibid* III. 9.26

As ill luck would have it, his misfortune did not stop here. So it is reported again that his disciples then collected the bones of their preceptor in a packet and left the assembly, and while they were coming back that packet was mistakenly stolen away by thieves.

The Hindu, the Buddhist and the Jain scholars, while discussing different controversial points in their respective philosophic-polemic treatises and literary works, specially in minor dramatic products are sometimes at loggerheads and openly challenge the views of others. The Nyāya school, which is famous for its dialectical methodology, has coined some interesting terms like वाद, वितण्डा, जल्प etc. for the purpose of refuting the views of others.

In ancient Greek rhetoric, the corresponding terms like 'hypophora,' 'sermocinatis,' 'apocrisis,' 'bdelygma' etc. might have referred to the same spirit of debate or discussion among the elite of the society. In one stray verse of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ii. 100.2241 extra) the Buddha is censured for his atheistic views and compared to an evil-doer like a thief :

'यथा हि चोरः स तथा हि बुद्धस् ,
तथागतं नास्तिकमत्र विद्धि ।'

In the same way the Jains are also ridiculed here and there in many other works. Cārvākas, the staunch atheists, who are conspicuous for their materialistic outlook, have made disparaging remarks against the Brahmanic religion and theology, all of which without a single exception have accepted the authority of the Vedas. Bṛhaspati, a mythical personality of the aforesaid school, vehemently attacks the authors and supportors of the Vedas and remarks that the three Vedas are nothing but incongruous rhapsodies of the rogues and the fools. A popular remark of Bṛhaspati runs thus:

'अग्निहोत्रं त्रयो वेदास्त्रिदण्डं भस्मगुण्ठनम् ।
प्रज्ञापौरुषहीनानां जीविकेति बृहस्पतिः ॥

Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha, p. 5.

The *agnihotra* (i.e. fire-sacrifice), the three Vedas, the three *daṇḍas* (i.e. paraphernalia of ascetics) and smearing of the body with ashes........all these are means of livelihood for those who are devoid of intellect. Thus they have made a laughing stock of the. Veda, which, according to the Brahmanic view, is अपौरुषेय (i.e. revelation) as well as the source of all *dharma* :

'त्रयो वेदस्य कर्तारो भण्ड-धूर्त-निशाचराः ।' *Ibid* p. 14

Three types of people.... ..the hypocrites, the rogues, and the night-stalkers are the authors of the Vedas.

An unknown *pundit*, probably a supporter of the *Vyākaraṇa* school, has very humorously made a satirical remark through the mouth of a pseudo-*naiyāyika* on the importance of meaning:

'अस्माकूनां नैयायिकेंषामर्थनि तात्पर्यं शद्बनि कीश्चिन्ता ।'

A student of literature or philosophy might look with curiosity at the lofty ideas and fundamental doctrines of the great critics and philosophers and of the exponents of different schools and tenets with their successive commentators and followers along with their explanations and counter-explanations, but at the same time a dispassionate reader might collect from them some sources of humour and cathartic relief. Thus, one can show that an intellectual giant like Śaṃkara may use the terms like मन्दबुद्धि or षण्ड against others, or Jayantabhaṭṭa may reproach ध्वनिकार as पण्डितम्मन्य or Ānandavardhana might be so arrogant towards the anti-dhvani theorists as to remark :

‘ननु एवमपि यदि नाम स्यात् किं नश्छिन्नम् ।’ *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 448.

So a cynic defines the term पण्डित sarcastically :

‘श्रुत्वापि नाम बधिरो दृष्ट्वाप्यन्धो जडो विदित्वापि ।
यो देशकालकार्यव्यपेक्षया पण्डितः स पुमान् ॥’

While discussing *Śabdajñāna*, Vācaspatimiśra in his *Sāṃkhyatattva-kaumudī* remarks that the Buddhist, Jain, Kāpālika and such orther scholars, can never be *āptas* (i.e. wise men who can be credited as authorities on their respective subjects) and their scriptures too cannot be taken as *āgama* (i.e. sacred knowledge, revelation of divine knowledge), their scriptures composed by human beings are baseless, contradictory and full of false assertions, and therefore, accepted by those people only who are discreditable and fools like animals.

In his introduction to *Sāṃkhya-pravacanabhāṣya*, Vijñānabhikṣu, a well-known protagonist of the dualistic school of Vedānta, calls Śaṃkara a pseudo Buddhist (प्रच्छन्न-बौद्धः). This abusive term was originally used against Śaṃkara in the *Padmapurāṇa* :

‘मायावादमसच्छास्त्रं प्रच्छन्नं बौद्धमेव च ।’

Anti-Śaṃkara view of the Madhva-school is also well-known in the circle of the Vedantists. Madhva, a philosopher of the post-Śaṃkara age and the founder of the dualist school, satirically remarks that the idea of Brahman as formulated by Śaṃkara is similar to that of *śūnya* of the Buddhists. In the two works of the Madhva-school, called *Madhva-vijaya* and *Maṇimañjarī* written by Nārāyaṇa, son of Trivikrama, who wrote a commentary called *Tattva-pradīpikā* on Madhva's commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*, the story of one Saṃkara (not Śaṃkara) is deliberately modelled on the life of the great *ācārya* of the *Advaita* school. This Saṃkara is depicted as an illegitimate son of a widow preaching *śūnyavāda* of the Buddhist school in the garb of Vedānta.

A traditional story gives an interesting picture of a literary duel between the two great exponents of the Vedānta philosophy. It is said that *ācārya* Śaṃkara while visiting the city Māhīṣmatī, came to an encounter with Maṇḍana-miśra. Maṇḍana's learned wife, Ubhayabhāratī was the umpire. After a prolonged debate Maṇḍana acknowledged defeat by Śaṃkara and became a monk of the Advaita-order after accepting his opponent's tenets. At this, Maṇḍana's wife requested Śaṃkara to participate in a debate against her. At first Śaṃkara refused to argue with a woman, but Ubhayabhāratī cited examples in favour of such precedents, and made him agree to this proposal. Their disputations went on for seven days without a final result. Then Ubhayabhāratī asked Śaṃkara a few questions on erotics :

'कलाः कियत्यो वद पुष्पधन्वनः
किमात्मिकाः किं च पदं समाश्रिताः ।
पूर्वे च पक्षे कथमन्यथा स्थितिः
कथं युवत्यां कथमेव पुरुषे ॥'

'Tell me how many *kalās* does Cupid possess?
What's their nature and where do they stay?
What are their ups and downs in the lunar cycle?
How do they stay in a young woman and a man?'

But Śaṃkara could not answer these questions, because he had neither practical nor theoretical knowledge of this subject. So he begged one month's time and went to the bank of the Narmadā to practise penance there. One day he found that the dead body of the king Amaru was being carried away by his kinsmen. By the supernatural power of yoga Śaṃkara's soul left its body, and entered the dead body of the king and became alive again. Thus Śaṃkara lived a king's life, and enjoyed the pleasures of love through Amaru's body. He expressed his personal feelings in a poem named *Amaruśataka* (i.e. a century of love lyrics by Amaru). Another traditional story about such a contest between Kumārila and Dharmapāla is also very interesting. It was Dharmapāla, the Buddhist scholar who initiated Kumārila to the study of the Buddha's doctrines; but Dharmapāla afterwards being defeated by his student, Kumārila, thought it better to put an end to his own life than to give up his personal religious faith. So he died a very sad death.

Vimalasūri's, *Paümacaria* (*Padmacarita*) written in Prakrit is one of the famous Jain works on *Rāma-kathā*. Here the poet has severely criticised Vālmīki, and says that Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is full of indiscriminate material and untrue descriptions (III. 14-17.) The poet puts his observation thus :

" One day king Seniya after hearing a discourse delivered by Lord Mahāvīra, thought that the Rāma-story, as described by Vālmīki, is full of false informations; so enlightenment cannot be obtained by the perusal of those false stories on the lives of great men like Rāma (who is called Padma in Jain tradition), Rāvaṇa and others. So the king requested Goama, the direct disciple of Māhāvīra, to give a factual description of the whole episode; and then Goama repeated what he had heard from his master, who remarked against Vālmīki thus :

' Good poets describe actual facts, while bad poets tell lies; Vālmīki has not done proper justice to the character of Rāvaṇa. So let me tell you all these truly and properly ".

In his dogmatio-polemic work, *Dharmaparikṣā* (1040 AD), Amitagati, the eminent Jain writer, makes a direct attack on Vedavyāsa, the far-famed author of the *Mahābhārata*. Amitagati blames Vyāsa thus :

Vyāsa certainly knew that his epic *Mahābhārata* is full of incredible stories and false statements; nevertheless, he poses himself to be a great poet. The reason behind such a venture of his lies in the fact that he knew well the psychology of human mind. From his personal experience of the world, Vyāsa must have understood that the public in general are superstitious, so they would accept every thing depicted on the life of godlike personalities.

Mallinātha, the learned commentator of the 14th century, points to the rivalry between Kālidāsa and Diṅnāga. He thinks that in the verse I.14. of the *Meghadūta* अद्रेः शृङ्गं हरति पवनः etc. Kālidāsa indirectly alludes to his hostile critic Diṅnāgācārya, who cast aspersions on the former's poetic qualities. The commentator, who was perhaps familier with such a traditional story current in his time, explains the line

'दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् '

thus: 'refuting the conspicuous faults indicated by Diṅnāga in his criticism.' Buddhist scholar Diṅnāga, who studied at the feet of Asaṅga, a reputed scholar of Buddhism, was an erudite *pundit* and logician. *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* is his famous book on Indian logic. But Mallinātha's information may be historically unsound, because Diṅnāga belonged to the 5th or 6th century A.D. and Kālidāsa is assigned to an earlier period than this by most of the modern scholars.

A traditional anecdote about a literary duel regarding the relative merits of Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin speaks of a quarrel between two groups of supporters of these two great poets. As the over-enthusiastic critics could not come to any conclusion they at last requested Sarasvatī, the Goddess of learning, to solve the problem. After making a critical estimate of the works of these poets, the celestial judge made the following observation:

'कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी न संशयः ।
त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं न संशयः ॥'

'Dandin is no doubt a poet of talent,
Thou alone art me (i.e. Sarasvatī incarnate).'

That Kālidāsa was warmly appreciated by critics and scholars of all ranks and tastes is indicated by high tributes paid by scholars in their respective works as well as by stray verses and other references also. But we are astonished when we find that there is at least one who dares to utter such a disparaging remark on one of his famous poems:

‘ रघुरपि काव्यं तदपि च पाठ्यं
तस्यापि टीका सापि च पाठ्या ।’

‘ Is even *Raghu* a *kāvya*? It that worth reading?
Need it a commentary? Is it too worth reading?’

Rājaśekhara informs us that Bāṇa and Mayūra were patronised by king Harṣa (7th century A.D.). According to a tradition, Mayūra was Bāṇa’s father-in-law, but as court-poets of Harṣa they were jealous of each other’s rank and power. When both of them went to Kashmir to attend a cultural seminar, Sarasvatī put a literary problem to each of them and sought a solution, On the basis of that Bāṇa was adjudged the best of the lot.

The king Harṣa and his court-poet Bāṇa are the reputed authors of Sanskrit literature. From Bāṇa’s *Harṣacarita* we come to know of many things about the life-history of the king and his patron poet. Harṣa was a noted dramatist and at the same time a connoisseur of art and literature. And Bāṇa is undoubtedly the finest master of Sanskrit prose style, a man of vast experience and a writer of superb quality. Before their first meeting Harṣa had some misunderstanding about and a sort of disrespect for Bāṇa. The whole episode is narrated thus in the *Harṣacarita*:

‘ One afternoon a messenger named Mekhalaka sent by Kṛṣṇadeva, cousin of Harṣa, came to Bāṇa and gave him an invitation letter from the king. Bāṇa read it and pondered sometime over the good and bad aspects of a king’s invitation. At last he made up his mind, and set out for the royal court. On reaching there he approached the king and uttered ‘*svasti*’ (‘welfare to thee’). When Bāṇa was introuced to Harṣa by his chamberlain the king showed an unseemly attitude towards the poet and made a very indecent remark about him to his associate, the son of the king of Mālava, sitting beside. The first introduction of the poet by the king was a bit hard and rude, because Harṣa uttered only one sentence : ‘महानयं भुजंग:’ i.e. this man is a great debauch. At this Bāṇa made an insolent retort instantaneusly :

‘अश्रद्दधान इव, नेय इव, अविदितलोकवृत्तान्त इव कस्मादेवमाज्ञापयसि ? स्वैरिणो विचित्राश्च लोकस्य स्वभावाः, प्रवादाश्च । महद्भिस्तु यथार्थदर्शिभिर्भवितव्यम् । नार्हसि मामन्यथा सम्भावयितुमविशिष्टमिव । ब्राह्मणोस्मि जात: सोमपायिनां वंशे वात्स्यायनानाम् । ………… सम्यक् पठितः सांगो वेदः । श्रुतानि यथाविधि शास्त्राणि । दारप्रतिग्रहणादभ्यागारिकोस्मि । का मे भुजंगता ? लोकद्वयविरोधिभिस्तु चापलैः शैशवमशून्यमासीत् । अत्रानपलापोऽस्मि ।’ *Harṣacarita*, p. 36

Bhavabhūti, the ‘*śrīkaṇṭha* (sweet-voiced) and a celebrated dramatist of India, occupied an honourable position next only to Kālidāsa. But from his works it can be assumed that he did not get his due from the contemporary critics and scholars, nevertheless he was very conscious of his poetic qualities. The poet had given vent to his feelings in an impassioned speech :

'यथा स्त्रीणां तथा वाचां साधुत्वे दुर्जनो जनः ।' *Uttararāma-carita* 1.5

But he had the hope in the core of his heart that he would be appreciated only by the men of taste and judgement to-day or to-morrow. In the prologue to the drama *Mālatīmādhava,* Bhavabhūti, the dramatist, speaks thus :

'ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥ I. 6

'How little do they know who speak of me with censure ? This effort is not for them. Possibly someone exists or will exist of similar taste with myself; for time is boundless and the world is wide.'

In the field of Sanskrit literary criticism *dhvani* theory is the most popular and based on the deep-rooted tradition of 'eternal logos' philosophy of the grammarians. After Abhinavagupta it became widely known and cordially accepted by most of the critics and poets on the basis of *Rasa* or 'aesthetic delight' in its psychological background. But, there are a few critics like Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Jayantabhaṭṭa and Mahimabhaṭṭa who either rejected it or included it under *lakṣaṇā* or *anumāna.* Thus Mahimabhaṭṭa while criticising Ānandavardhana tells his readers that his book has been written for those critics who are of his own stature :

युक्तोऽयमात्मसदृशान् प्रति मे प्रयत्नो
नास्त्येव तज्जगति सर्वमनोहरं यत् ।
केचिज्ज्वलन्ति विकसन्त्यपरे निमील-
न्त्यन्ये यदभ्युदयभाजि जगत्प्रदीपम् ॥ *Vyaktiviveka,* 1.2

But Ruyyaka, in his commentary on the *Vyaktiviveka* 1.3. blames this insolent critic for his own faults i.e. the grammatical blemishes of the said verse :

'एतच्चास्य साहित्यविचारदुर्निरूपकस्य प्रमुख एव स्खलितमिति महान् प्रमादः ।'

Śrīharṣa (2nd half of the 12th century A.D.) was a master of Sanskrit literature. His encyclopaedic works on poetry and philosophy are *Naiṣadhacarita* and *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* respectively. In *Prabandha-ratnakośa,* Rājaśekhara informs us that Śrīhīra, father of Śrīharṣa, was the court poet of Vijayacandra of Kānyakubja, and Śrīharṣa was patronised by Jayantacandra (not Jayacandra), son of Vijayacandra. According to a contemporary tradition, Śrīhīra was defeated by Udayana, a renowned scholar of Nyāya from Mithila, in a literary contest in Vijayacandra's court. Śrīhīra took his defeat very seriously, and requested his son to recover his lost glory. So Śrīharṣa obliged his father by writing *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya.* This view is supported by Cāṇḍupaṇḍita, a noted commentator of *Naiṣadha-carita.* Śrīharṣa belongs to the monotheistic school of Vedānta, while Udayana to the dualistic school of Nyāya. While refuting the views of different philosophical schools but Vedānta, Śrīharṣa has contradicted the opinions of Udayana's *Nyāyakusumāñjali* without associating the name of the author. For example, both Udayana and Jayantabhaṭṭa think that *mokṣa* is not a positive state of bliss, or otherwise it may be compared to an insentient condition like that of a stone; but Śrīharṣa severely criticises the view of the Nyāya school and sarcastically called Gautama '*gotama*' (the fool of fools) :

मुक्तये यः शिलात्वाय शास्त्रमूचे सचेतसाम् ।
गोतमं तमवेतैव यथा वित्थ तथैव सः ॥ *Naiṣadhacarita*, xvii. 74

According to another tradition Śrīharṣa had to suffer for his royal award '*narabhāratī*' bestowed on him by the king of Kānyakubja, at the hands of the Kānyakubja-queen, who was awarded *kalābhāratī* by her husband. The poet being embarrassed thus by his patron's wife retired from the king's court and passed the last days of his life on the bank of the Gangā. Another story provides a connecting link between Śrīharṣa and Mammaṭa. Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhacarita*, one of the famous court-epics of the post-Kālidāsan era, is well-known for its literary exuberance and treasury of scholarship. On the other hand, Mammaṭa after Ānandavardhana ranks highest among the rhetoricians along with Jagannātha. The story goes thus : After completing his *Naiṣadha-carita* Śrīharṣa handed over a copy of it to his maternal uncle Mammaṭa for a favourable criticism, but unfortunately Mammaṭa returned the book to his nephew with the following remarks : 'If your book would have been written before the composition of my *Kāvyaprakāśa*, it would have been possible for me to collect all the examples of *Kāvya-doṣas* (poetic blemishes) from it '.

In the first act of the Prakrit drama *Karpūramāñjarī* Rājaśekhara describes imaginary duel between Vidūṣaka, king's jester, and Vicakṣaṇā, a female attendant and friend of the queen. The scene is both satirical and comical; the jester, a self-styled poet, foolishly boasts of the cultural heritage of his own family, while Vicakṣaṇā criticises his poems and censures him for bad taste and undignified style.

The rivalry between Jagannātha and the two Dīkṣitas is also most interesting. Jagannātha's rivals were Appayya Dīkṣita and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. Appayya and Jagannātha are prolific and versatile writers of mediaeval India. Jagannātha (1590-1664 A.D.), an erudite scholar and famous rhetorician, was invited to the court of Shāh Jahān and appointed a teacher of Sanskrit for his son Dārāśiko, whom the poet eulogised in his work *Jagadābharaṇa*. While staying as a court poet he fell in love with a *yavanī* girl Lavaṅgī, daughter of Akbar, born of a Rajput wife. This incident might have caused displeasure among the orthodox Brahmin scholars of his time. Appayya Dīkṣita, a poet-grammarian and an erudite scholar of Kāñcī, who wrote more than hundred books on various subjects, has been severely criticised by Jagannātha. Against Appayya's *Citramīmāṁsā*, Jagannātha wrote *Citramīmāṁsā-khaṇḍana* and the views of the former's *Kuvalayamālā*, an elementary treatise on *Alaṃkāra*, have been trenchantly criticised in the latter's magnum opus *Rasagaṅgādhara*. Though he is very courteous and good-mannered, his criticism against Appayya is often too impolite to be voiced by a scholar against a scholar. He used the insulting terms *drāviḍa-puṅgava* (i.e. a bull of the Drāvida country) and *dīrgha-śravas* (i.e. a man with long ear on an ass) against Appayya. Jagannātha's preceptor was Vīreśvara, whose father wrote a commentary called *Prakriyā prakāśa* on *Prakriya-kaumudī* of Śeṣaśrīkṛṣṇa. Bhattoji Dīkṣita, a pupil of this Śeṣaśrīkṛṣṇa, criticised the opinions of *Prakriyā-prakāśa* in his *Prauḍha-manoramā* which is a commentary on his own work *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. Bhaṭṭoji's disregard for the views of his preceptor (Vīreśvara's father) made Jagannatha angry and that is why he wrote *Prauḍha-manoramā-kucamardinī* i.e. refutation of the views given in the book *Prauḍha-manoramā* or kneading of the breasts of a senior and beautiful lady). Like this grammatical treatise some other titles of satirical nomenclature are not rare, for example, we may mention the names like

वेदान्तडिण्डिम, शतदूषणी, शतदूषणीखण्डन, दुर्जनमुखचपेटिका, दुर्जनमुखमहाचपेटिका etc.

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THE VIDYĀDHARA VĀPĪ AT VAḌODARĀ AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS

By

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A late medieval step-well at the western outskirts of Vaḍodarā seemingly has not been earlier noticed from the standpoint of architecture and its foundation inscriptions.[1] The step-well has an entrance-pavilion with two flanking pylons (Plate 1), much as with the famous Aḍālaj-nī vāv near Ahmedābād. A flight of steps from the entrance-pavilion leads down to a series of six or seven storied landings (Plate 2). Between the landings is inserted a pair each of stilted pillars supported by lintels possibly to prop the side-wall of the step-well. Pillars are mostly plain and so are the lintel faces, with only a few exceptions, particularly where the inscriptions are engraved (Plates 3-5). The joinery brackets of the lintels are also carved in some cases. The motifs there are either floral (Plate 6-7) or animal such as horse with the keeper (Plate 8), elephants, or a pair of *haṁsas* (Plate 9). The carved lintels show the design of *padmas* in intersecting beaded semicircles (Plates 6-7) or just the *vandanamālikā* made of the *aśoka-pallavas*.

The walls too are plain with one exception where the face of a pilaster's sub-bracket has been carved with cascading *aśoka* leaves in series, indeed a sparkling design (Plate 10).

The central lintel in the bottom storey of the fourth pavilion as well as the lintel of the first pavilion has a two-lined, almost identical, inscription. The inscription at the first pavilion is weather-worn and its stone is also damaged at places. A third, short, single-line inscription is noticeable on the joinery lintel-bracket of the second pavilion.

The script of inscriptions is later *Nāgarī* and their language is a bastard form of Sanskrit. From the orthographical point of view, there are some differences in the two incriptions. In the inscription at the fourth pavilion, there is *varaṣe* and *śudi* in line one; their correct forms *varṣe* and *sudi* are met with in the inscription of the first pavilion. The word *vasāha* (probably means

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[1] It is possible that the Archaeological Department of Baroda has reported and discussed it, but, the concerned reports are not handy in Banaras.

a *vaṇika sādhu* i.e. a tradesman) in the inscriptions has been spelt as *vasāha*, *vasahā* and *visāha*. For the Sanskrit word *kṛtvā* a corrupt rendering *kratā* appears in the first inscription. The name 'Ṣetā' (= Khetā) of the first inscription has been rendered 'Śretā' in the second inscription.

I. Text of the lintel of the fourth pavilion

1. संवत् १५४३ वरषे वैशाष शुदि १२ शुक्रे
श्री षंभाइत वास्तव्य वसाह कुभ (भा)
सुत देवा ॥

2. वसहा हरिदास सुत विद्याधर वापी
कता (कृत्वा) सूत्र [०] वीधर सुत
वरद्य (द) सूत्र [०] देवदास सुत
षेता ॥

The first inscription records the construction of a *vāpī* or step-well called Vidyādhara-vāpī on a date in *Saṁvat* year 1543, namely *Vaiśākha sudi* 12, Friday, by Vidyādhara, son of Haridāsa who was related with Kubhā and his son Devā, a resident of Khambhāta; he belonged to the *vaṇika* or bania community. The *sūtradhāra* (architect) was Varada, son of Vīdhara and Khetā, son of Devadāsa.

II. Text of the lintel of the first pavilion

1. संवत् १५४३ वर्षे वैशाष सुदि १२
शुक्रे श्री षंभाइत वास्तव्य विसाह
कुभा सुत हरि [दास] [सुत श्री वसहा ?]

2. [रवीह ?] विद्याधर वापी कृत्वा सूत्र [०]
वीधर सुत वरद्ये [द] सूत्र [०] देवदास
सुत श्रे [षे] ता ... ...

The abstract and purport of this inscription is almost identical with the earlier one, but, here Devā disappears and Haridāsa is referred to as the son of Kubhā. So, it may be inferred that Devā was the brother of Haridāsa and both were the sons of Kubhā.

III. Text of the joinery lintel-bracket of the second pavilion

सूत्र [०] षेता साभवु ? रीषिदत

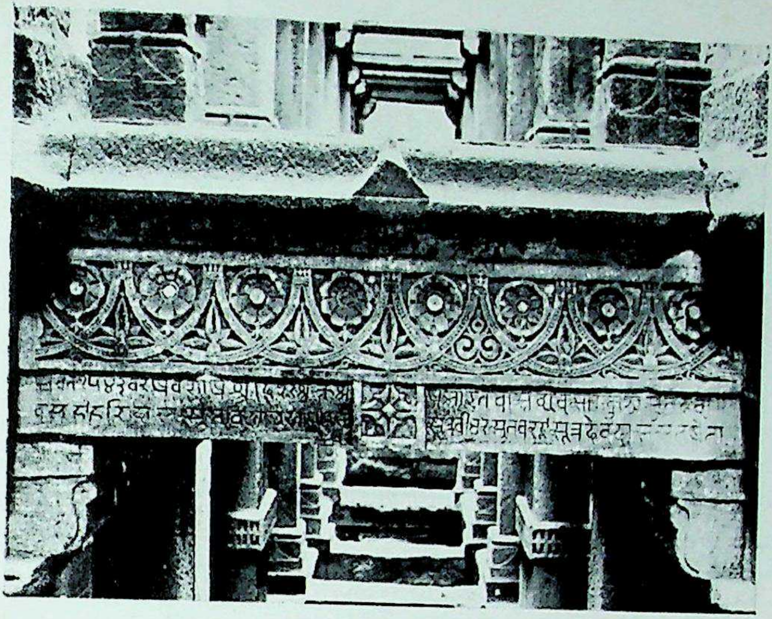

Fig. 3

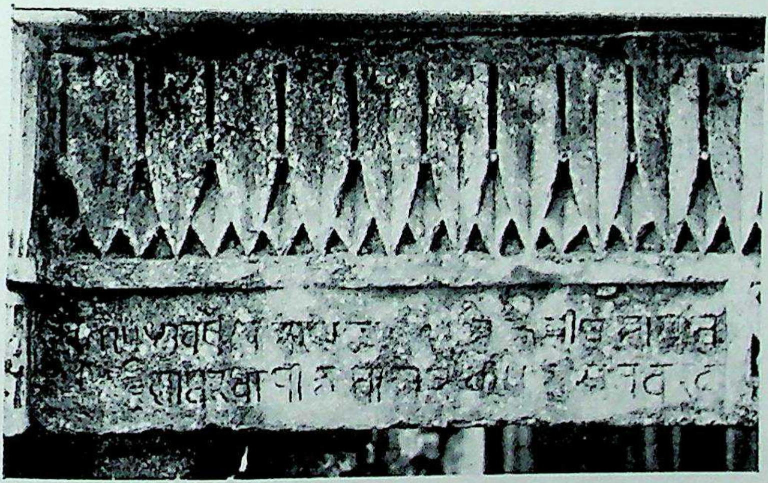

Fig. 4

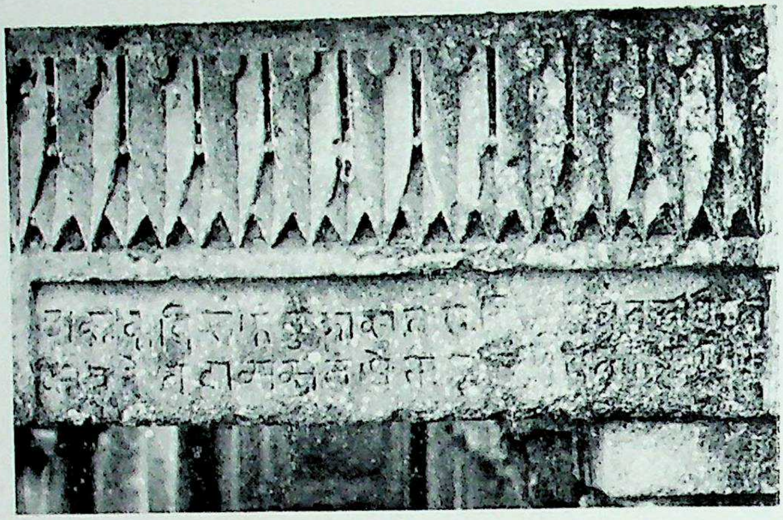

Fig. 5

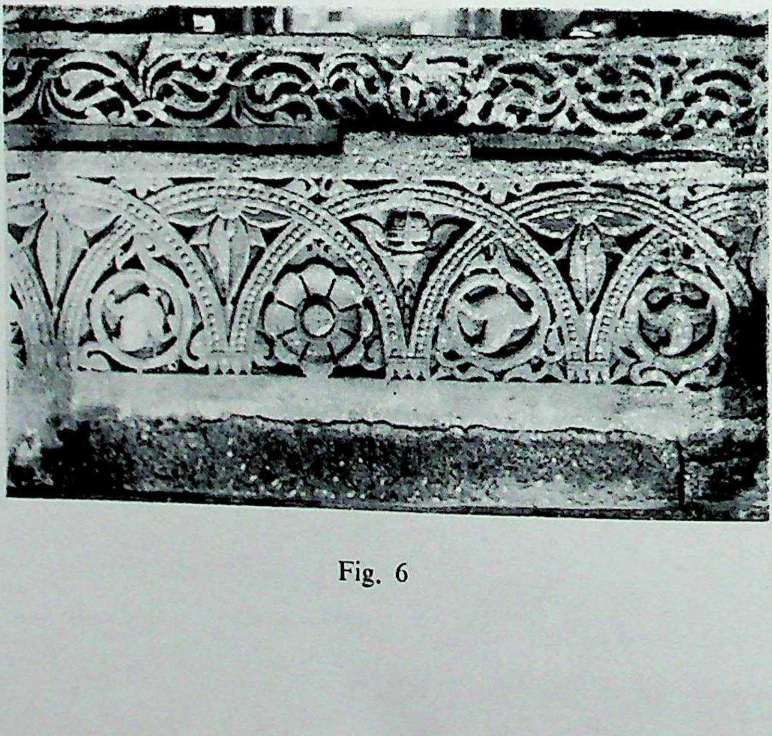

Fig. 6

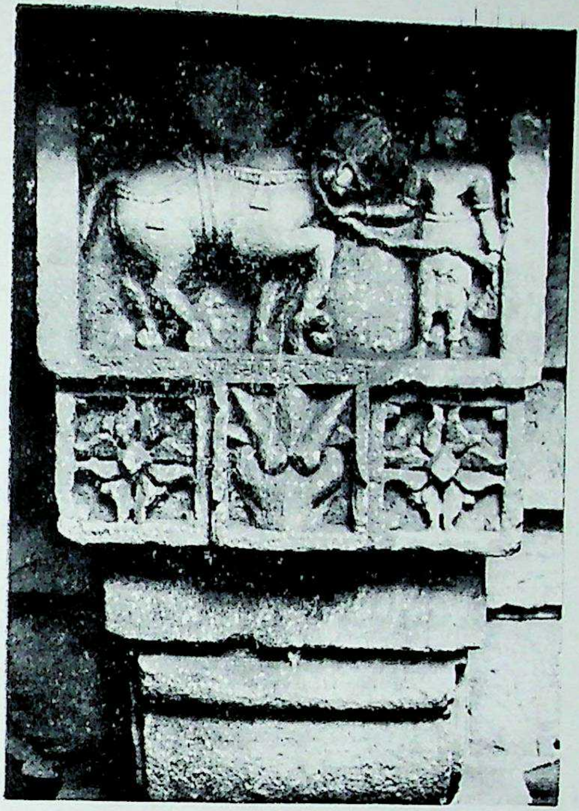

Fig. 8

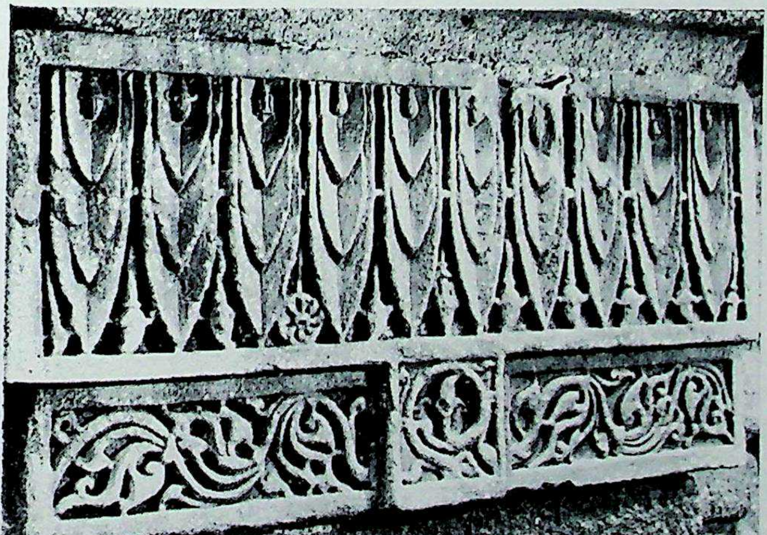

Fig. 10

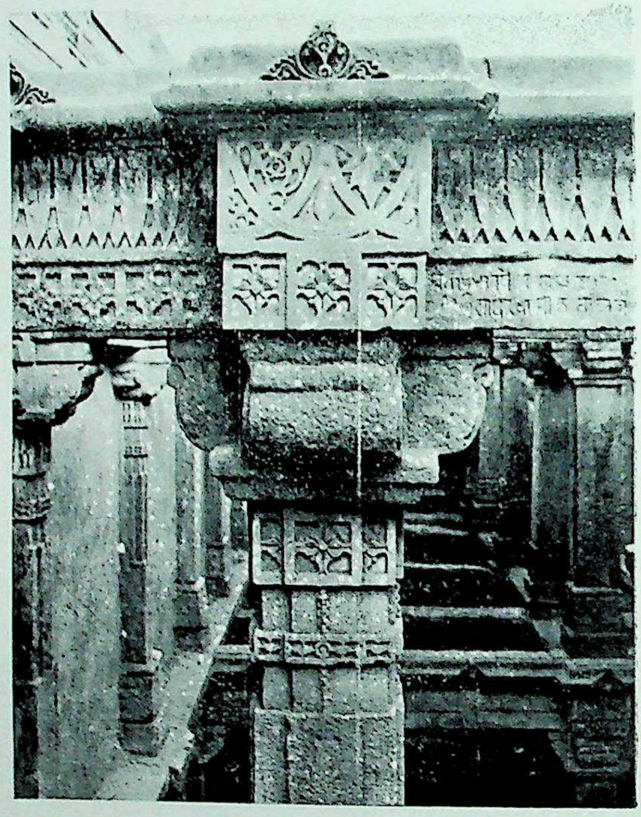

Fig. 7

The date of this vāpī, *Saṁvat* 1543/A.D. 1487, is fifteen years earlier to Aḍālaj-nī vāv which in its foundation inscription is dated to *Saṁvat* 1558/A.D. 1502.

The Vidyādhara-vāpī of course is very modest in comparison with Aḍālaj-nī vāv in terms of scale, pretensions and the richness and splendour of ornamentation. The breadth of treatment, the three-staired balconied entrance hall, the storied internal *maṇḍapa*s, and side-way walks in the walls at Aḍālaj are absent in the Vaḍodarā example. However, it anticipates at least one feature of Aḍālaj, which otherwise is not met with earlier in the step-wells of Gujarat. This is the proping pillar-pairs between the main landings and their situation right on the stairway.

One other notable feature is the absence of floorings for the stories of the pavilions of each landing. The entire structure is standing as if on the frame of pillars and lintels. This innovation permitted the top light to filter in throughout the staircase which ultimately leads to the crescent-shaped well for drawing water. These storied pavilions serve the function of open lanterns in series over the descending.

The decorative motifs and their style are what encountered at the famous mosques of the Sultanate Period in Gujarat, at Ahmedābād, Chāmpāner, Ḍhoḷakā and other places as is also the case of the richer and the more resplendent Aḍālaj-nī vāv

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4. Vidyādhara vāpī, inscription on lintel, left half, first pavilion.
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The photographs are reproduced here by courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Center for Art and Archaeology, Ramnagar, Varanasi.

SAMAYASUNDARA AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By

SATYA VRAT *

A celebrated monk of *Kharatara-gaccha*, an offshoot of the Śvetāmbara branch of the Jaina faith. Samayasundara was, by all accounts, one of the most prolific writers that the Jainistic tradition has ever known. His initiation into the monastic order by Jinacandrasūri marked the beginning of what subsequently turned out to be an extremely rewarding and chequered career, though some aspects thereof are shrouded in ambiguity, the profusion of sources nothwithstanding. As affirmed by him[1] and some of his pupils,[2] he was born at Sanchor in Marwar. M. D. Desai's suggestion that he was born in V.S, 1620,[3] though smugly espoused by subsequent writers, does not stand a close scrutiny. By the time he wrote his first work, the *Bhāvaśataka*, in V.S. 1641, he had not only delved into the intricacies of the concept of *Dhvani*, as propounded by Mammaṭa in his *magnum opus*, the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, which he sought to present concisely therein, he had also earned by then the respectable rank of *gaṇi*. In view of the canonical injunction[4] that the title was not to be bestowed on anyone unless he had been trained for about a decade, following his initiation, and the fact that Samayasundara joined the church quite late, in the prime of his youth,[5] probably at the age of twenty, it would be sound to hold that he was ordained into monkhood some time in V.S. 1631 which would convincingly push his birth back to about V.S. 1610 (1553 A.D.).

Though Sakalacandra Gaṇi died soon after the young monk was assigned to him for proper training and education, it is a measure of Samayasundara's devotion to his erstwhile preceptor that he continued to honour his memory with

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[1] *Sītārāma-Caupāi*, 6, 3. 50, Bikaner, V. S. 2019

[2] *Naladavadanti-rāsa*, Ed. R. C. Shah, Bhārata Prakāśana, Ahmedabad, Appendix III, p. 137.

[3] *Ānandakāvya-mahodadhi*, Part 7, Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, Bombay, V. S. 1982.

[4] *Vyavahārasūtra*, Sanderava, 1930 A.D., 3.7, 10.24-27

[5] नवयौवन भर संयम संग्रह्यौ । Harṣanandana

reverential allusions to him, in almost all his writings.[6] Samayasundara had joined the church almost as an illiterate villager, but his training under the Argus eye of his new teachers, Mahimarāja and Somarāja, turned him into a versatile poet and scholar, well-versed in various branches of learning including grammar, poetics, lexicography and canonical literature besides many languages. His works on a wide variety of subjects vouch for it in abundant measure.

Samayasundara seems to have been extraordinary sharp and prolific in literary output. His academic equipment and meticulous adherence to religious pursuits earned him quick elevation in the hierarchy of the *gaccha*. It was nothing short of a feat that even before he came to compose his first work, he had been honoured with the cherished title of *Gaṇi*.[7] The coincidence that the rank was conferred on him alongwith his teacher, in V.S. 1640, speaks volumes of Samayasundara as a monk and a potential literary prodigy. Other titles followed him in succession. The combined testimony of *Karmacandravaṁśaprabandha* (KVP)[8] and *Jainarāsasaṁgraha*[9] (JRS) leaves little doubt that Samayasundara graduated as a *Vācaka* not long thereafter. It happily synchronised with the conferment of the rank of *Ācārya* on his teacher at Lahore in V.S. 1649, on the second day of the bright half of *Fālguna*. While Rajasoma is unequivocal in stating that Samayasundara earned the title of *Upādhyāya* (*Pāṭhaka*) at Lavera (Jodhpur) from Jinasiṁhasūri,[10] one of his teachers, he is enigmatically silent on the date of the event. However, his writings reveal it beyond cavil that a long interlude of over twenty two years intervened before Samayasundara could secure the coveted title. The *Viśeṣaśataka*, written in V.S. 1672, is the first work to refer to him as *Pāṭhaka* (*Upādhyāya*).[11] The colophon to the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalavṛtti*, assigned to the same year also serves to uphold it. As the seniormost monk and scholar in the *gaccha*, after the death of his teacher Jinasiṁhasūri in V.S. 1680, Samayasundara was automatically elevated to the high pedestal of *Mahopādhyāya* in accordance with the established practice. Harṣanandana has actually hailed him as *Mahopādhyāya* in his gloss on the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* (*Śrīsamayasundaramahopādhyāyacaraṇasaroruhābhyām namaḥ*).

Samayasundara was a widely travelled person. In the absence of definite evidence, it is difficult to ascertain his itinerary prior to V. S. 1644. He seems to

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6. *Daśavaikālika-vṛtti*, *Praśasti*, 2-3; *Bhāvaśataka*, 99 etc.
7. तच्छिष्यसमयसुन्दरगणिना स्वाभ्यासवृद्धिकृते । *Bhāvaśataka*, 99
8. गुणविनयसमयसुन्दरगणी कृतौ वाचनाचार्यौ । *KVP*, 62
9. वाचकपद गुणविनय नइ, समयसुन्दर नइ, दीध उ रे । *JRS*, Part III
10. *Naladavadantī-rāsa*, Appendix 3, Rājasoma's *Samayasundaragitam*, p. 133.
11. तच्छिष्य – समयसुन्दरपाठकैरकृत शतकमिदम् । *Viśeṣaśatakam*, 4.

have spent this formative period of his career in the vicinity of his teachers that served to equip him tremendously for the literary spree that followed. Thereafter his writings seem to form a reliable index to his widely diffused journeys. Their religious importance apart, these visits opened new vistas to the monk who had limited notions of the land and people. He came abreast of the rich variety that characterised the different regions of the country and, in the process, picked up quite a few of the regional languages. All this combined to make him a fuller and wiser man. By virtue of his manifold attainments he came to carry considerable weight with influential people in some of the regions and had been instrumental in securing ban on animal-slaughter and excesses on some segments of the population. Though, as stated earlier, his travels were widely dispersed, he seemed to have chiefly concentrated on his home state Rajasthan and the neighbouring Gujarat. It was there that most of his works were composed or brought to conclusion.

Samayasundara had special fascination for Ahmedabad. He spent quite a few *Cāturmāsa*s there, which, as borne out by his writings composed there, were literarily highly productive. He visited Ahmedabad several times between V.S. 1987 to 1696. By 1696 (V.S.), being eighty-six, he had become a physical decrepit. Unfortunately, it turned out to be the most trying period of his life. His physical infirmities were exacerbated by severe mental agonies. While in V.S. 1686 he had to succumb to the stubbornness of his pupil Harṣanandana which led to a schism in the church, the next year, when he was stationed at Ahmedabad, Gujarat was struck by a terrible famine. The famine broke out with such ferocity that the entire social and moral fabric was sapped dry. It took an extra-ordinarily heavy toll of life. Samayasundara himself was reduced to such dire straits that he had to sell out his books, utensils and other articles of daily use, otherwise something abhorring for a monk to do. His misery was gravely compounded by the perfidy of his pupils, who, though deeply indebted to him for their manifold attainments, deserted him when he needed them most to relieve the rigours of the old age. Samayasundara has drawn a moving account of the havoc the famine spelled all around, and the ingratitude and treachery of his disciples[12] which even now sends shudder down to one's spine. The two combined to deal a deadly blow to him. He died in V.S. 1703 at the ripe age of ninety three, a broken man, indeed a painful antithesis to his otherwise smooth and respectable career.

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[12] (a) *Satyāsīya-duṣkāla-varṇana-Chattīsī* (Rājasthānī) *Kusumāñjali*, Ed. Agarchand Nahta and Bhanwar Lal Nahta, 4, Jagmohan Mallik Lane, Calcutta-7, p. 501-512.

(b) *Guru-duḥkhita-vacanam* (Sanskrit), *Ibid.* p. 417-419

Samayasundara's Sanskrit Works

Samayasundara was indeed a versatile genius. He is the sole Jaina author who can be termed as the nearest approach to the legendary Hemacandra in literary output and spiritual in-put. The plethora of his writings in diverse languages attests to it in an ample measure. He was equally at home in grammar, poetics, prosody, linguistics, logic, astrology and canonical and ritualistic literature. While he is credited with a large number of works in Rājasthānī, which compel revision of some of the notions smugly clung to so far, he made substantial contributions to Sanskrit by his abundant and diversified writings. Some of his Sanskrit works can assuredly be claimed to be unparalleled in the domain of literature, and combine to establish him as a mighty scholar and a gifted poet. An in-depth study of his Sanskrit works could have been a rewarding exercise at any point of time. This is what is sought to be attempted here.

Samayasundara imparted new dimension to the *śataka*-genre of literature. What was intended to enrobe the erotic or gnomic poetry, has been turned by him into an effective medium of *Śāstric*-learning. His *Bhāvaśataka*, known through its solitary codex deposited with the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, thus seeks to detail the various divisions and sub-divisions of the *Dhvani*-form of poetry which rests on the preponderance of the suggested sense as ably propounded by Mammaṭa in his *magnum opus*.[13] What the author of *Kāvyaprakāśa* had presented in detail, stretching it beyond imaginable bounds, Samayasundara has reduced to a tiny volume, obviously to facilitate a clearer and quicker understanding of the concept. The *Bhāvaśataka* bespeaks the zeal of the young author to delve deep into the intricacies of *Dhvani* and perpetuate its tradition, though bitterly threatened by a vast array of critics. Written in V.S. 1641 (*śaśisāgararasabhūtalasamvati vihitam ca Bhāvaśatakamidam*), it is believed by common consensus to be the first work of Samayasundara.

The *Samācārī-śataka*, on the other hand, is concerned with Jaina ethics. It was intended to meet the offensive viciously launched to denigrate the Jaina faith in general and the *Kharatara-gaccha* in particular. It forms part of the tradition represented by such notable writings as *Padyavyavasthā-kulaka* of Jinacandrasūri, *Vidhiprapā* of Jinaprabhasūri and *Ācāradinakara* of Vardhamānasūri. While stoutly repudiating the blashphameous charges of Dharmasagara and others of his ilk, the author has discreetly refrained from hurling counter-accusations. The *Samācārī-śataka* seeks to resolve one hundred controversial issues pertaining to ethics and to establish, in the process, the compatibility of the *Kharatara-gaccha* with the canon. Samayasundara has backed up his views, almost invariably, with canonical precepts, though he is not oblivious of his limitations.

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[13] काव्यप्रकाशे शास्त्रे ध्वनिरिति संज्ञा निवेदिता येषाम् ।
वाच्यातिशायिव्यङ्ग्यान् कवित्वमेदानहं वच्मि ॥ *Bhāvaśataka*, 2

The *Samācārī-śataka* is divided irto five chapters (*Prakāśas*) which are further sub-divided into uneven sections (*Adhikāras*) that add upto a century to justify the title of the work. Each *adhikāra* is addressed to resolve a particular issue.

In the absence of the *Praśasti* to the work, it is difficult to ascertain the date of its composition. On the basis of a verse,[14] not found in the printed text,[15] the *Samācārī-śataka* is believed to have been concluded in V S. 1672 at Meḍatā (Jodhpur) though it was started at Siddhipuri in Sindh and a part thereof was written at Multan in V.S. 1669.

Written in the same year, at the same venue,[16] the *Viśeṣaśataka* seeks to resolve one hundred doctrinal or ritualistic problems posed by an inquisitive pupil. In consonance with his known style, the author has elucidated each issue in a lucid language, on the basis of the authoritative texts. In a bid to facilitate a clearer understanding of the canonical excerpts, he has rendered in simple phraseology such of them as he deemed hard for the reader to grasp. The pieces culled from the *sūtras*, attest to the author's unquestioned insight in those texts. Some of the questions discussed in the *śataka* are interesting and deserve attention. It is concluded, for instance, in the fourth *Prakaraṇa* that Jamāli would attain liberation after fifteen births. The author has upheld it on the basis of Hemacandra's *Mahāviracarita.*

The *Vicāraśataka* also addresses itself to explain and solve a century of issues pertaining to Jaina philosophy, in a style not dissimilar from that of the preceding *śataka*. Samayasundara meticulously adheres to the tested method of upholding the elucidation with scriptural texts. It has, however resulted in an overabundance of doctrinal terminology creeping into the work. The *śataka* consists of 100 *Prakaraṇas* with each section dealing with one problem, though some of the problems spill over more than one *Prakaraṇa*. The *Praśasti* proves it beyond doubt that Meḍatā again formed the venue of its composition, attempted two years subsequent to the *Viśeṣaśataka*, in 1674.[17]

The *Visaṁvāda-śataka* locates and enlists one hundred of such of the topics in canonical texts that are marked by bewildering inconsistency and contradiction. The author wisely desisted from the frustrating task of explaining them away or otherwise smoothening them. The *Viṣaṁvādaśataka* is known to have been composed in V.S. 1685. The only known manuscript of the *śataka*, written in V.S. 1889 and preserved in the *Abhaya Jaina Granthālaya*, Bikaner, is unhappily corrupt and illegible.

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[14] *Kusumāñjali, op. cit.*, Vinayasāgar's introductory write-up Mahopādhyāya Samayasundara, p. 53, F. No. 14.

[15] Śrī Jinadattasūri-Jñānabhaṇḍāra, Bombay, V. S. 1993.

[16] *Kusumāñjali, op. cit.*, p. 53, F. N. 16.

[17] *Vicāraśataka, Praśasti*, 1.

Aṣṭalakṣī or *Artharatnāvalī*[18] is undoubtedly the most pedantic work of Samayasundara and has been chiefly instrumental in ensuring him abiding glory. It represents an acme to the literary feat of multiple interpretation which has a long tradition in Sanskrit. Stung by the unkind charge, voiced at Akbar's court, that the Jaina *sūtras* are imprecise to the extent of being liable to manifold interpretation, Samayasundara embarked upon the frightening task of proving its veracity, in true perspective, by extorting more than ten lakh meanings from the innocuous jumble of syllables.

रा – जा – नो – द – द – ते – सौ – ख्य – म् (राजानो ददते सौख्यम्)

However, on subsequent scrutiny, two lakh twenty thousand, four hundred and seven meanings were discarded as untenable, leaving the remaining eight lakh to impart the work the alternative appellation, it bears till date. Such literary gymnastics have doubtless fascinated the scholarly poets, but even the most erudite authors of the *Saṁdhāna-kāvyas* tend to pale into insignificance before Samayasundara's stupendous *tour-de-force*. On the author's own testimony,[19] the *Aṣṭalakṣī* was blessed by Emperor Akbar while he was camping at Lahore, en route to Kashmir, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* in V.S. 1649.

The endless interpretation of the brief sentence presupposes the author's profound equipment in Sanskrit grammar and lexicography. Samayasundara was indeed well-versed in both. He has mentioned the eight lexicons that he had mastered prior to setting himself on the prohibitive task. Queer break-up of the sentence, followed by equally startling meanings of the various units thereof has enabled the author to put incredible interpretations on it. The following renderings sufficiently reflect the poet's expertise in the art.

१. रा आजा नो अददत ई सौख्यम् ।

रा पर्यायेण श्रीः । 'अ शिवे केशवे वायौ' इति विश्वशम्भुवचनाद् अं वायुं अजति क्षिपति धातूनामनेकार्थत्वात् भक्ष (य) तीति अन्वि आजः सर्पहतेन आ शोभा यस्य स आजाः । श्री (रा) पूर्वकः आजाः श्रीः (रा) आजा—श्रीपार्श्वनाथः, सर्पलाञ्छनात् । स नः अस्माकं ई सौख्यम् । अदत्त । इति चतुर्थोऽर्थः । सर्वे ।

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[18] Ed. Hira Lal R. Kapadia, D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Saṁsthā, Bombay.

[19] *Anekārtha-ratna-mañjūṣā*, D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, Bombay. V. S. 1989, p. 65.

२. ला ज। आ नो ददते सौख्यम् ।

'ला च लक्ष्मीर्लमम्बरे' इति विश्वशम्भु (श्लोक १०४) वचनात् ला लक्ष्मीः। हे ज। हे जेतृ पुरुष। आ इति सम्बोधने। नः अस्मभ्यं १ अस्माकं २ वा सौख्यं असौख्यं वा २ ददते। इदं भोगिनां योगिनां च वचनम्। सर्वे।

३. ऋः – आ – अजा नो ददते असौख्यम् ।

ऋः मेषस्तम् आ सामस्त्येन अजन्ति क्षिपन्तीति रत्वे कृते राजाः सिंहादयः नः अस्माकम् असौख्यं ददते। इदं मृगाणां वचनम् ।

Some of his shorter works, especially the *stotras*, also bring out, in relief, Samayasundara's equipment in literary gimmicks, not precluding *Yamaka*, *Śleṣa* and *Samasyāpūrti*. The *stotras* are mostly addressed to Pārśvanātha, though his devotion to Ṛṣabhadeva and Mahāvīra, as attested by other writings of even size, is beyond dispute. Quite a few of Samayasundara's *stotras* are infested with *Yamaka*[20] of various hues, while some others have been pressed into service to parade his expertise in handling the *śleṣa*.[21] Samayasundara could also not resist the temptation of succumbing to the various *bandhas*,[22] inherent in the *Citrakāvya*, howsoever odd they may seem in the devotional hymns. Whatever their worth as an index to the poet's pedantry, these literary gymnastics combine to turn the *stotras* into an exercise in artificiality, which otherwise are supposed to exude warmth and devotion. It, however, goes to his credit that, more often than not, he has not overstepped the bounds of moderation. Some of his *stotras* are characterised by an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit,[23] a feat also exploited by others.

Samayasundara has tried his hand at the popular feat of *Samasyāpūrti* as well. In the *Jinasiṁhasūripadotsavakāvya*, he has sought to incorporate the last quarter of each verse of *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto Three, in the body of his poem to describe the function, arranged with fanfare by Prime Minister Karmachand Bacchavat, to celebrate the elevation of his teacher Jinasiṁhasūri to the rank of *Ācārya*. Even while describing an event, so distinctly apart from the original, the beauty of Kālidāsa's lines has been retained, almost intact.[24] A transcript of the poem is said to exist in the *Abhaya Jaina Granthālaya*, Bikaner.

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[20] *ŚrīPārśvanātha-yamaka-baddha-laghu-stavanam*, *Kusumāñjali op. cit.*, p. 187; *Śrī Pārśvanātha-yamaka-bandhastotram*, *Ibid.*, 192; *Yamakamayam Pārśvanātha-laghu-stavanam*, *Ibid.*, 621, *Yamakamayam Mahāvīra-bṛhad stavanam*, p.6 22-623.

[21] *Śrī Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha-śleṣamaya-laghu-stavanam*, *Ibid.*, p. 188; *Nānāvidha-śleṣamayam Śrī-ādinātha-stotram*, *Ibid.* p. 615.

[22] *Śrī Pārśvanāthasya śṛṅkhatāmaya-laghu-stavanam*, *Ibid.*, p. 189; *Śrī Pārśvanātha-śṛṅgāṭakabandha-stavanam*, *Ibid.*, p. 193. etc.

[23] *Sanskrit-Prakrit-bhāṣāmayam—Śrī Pārśvanāthāṣṭakam*, *Ibid.*, p. 196.

The *Ṛṣabha-bhaktāmara-stotra* (ṚBS),[25] though written by way of *Samasyāpūrti* of Mānatuṅga's famed hymn, the *Bhaktāmara*, represents a pole apart from the literary trickery. Despite the contraints of *Samasyāpūrtı*, the ṚBS is distinguished by pleasing lucidity and deep religious fervour that sets at naught all else, howsoever attractive and appealing that may be. The similarity of theme has been instrumental in securing the warmth of devotion that pervades the *stotra*. It reads like a spontaneous outpouring of an emotionally surcharged heart. Sweet phraseology, repeatedly enlivened by *Anuprāsa*, serves to assure it a high place in the galaxy of devotional hymns. The verses, instanced below, would testify to its veracity.

नमेन्द्रवन्द्र कृतभद्र जिनेन्द्र चन्द्र
ज्ञानात्मदर्श – परिदृष्ट – विशिष्ट – विश्व ।
त्वन्मूर्त्तिरर्तिहरणी तरणी मनोज्ञे –
वावलम्बनं भवजले पततां जनानाम् ॥ 1 ॥

भास्वद्गुणाय करुणाय मुदोरणाय
विद्याचणाय कमलप्रतिमे क्षणाय ।
सल्लक्षणाय जनताकृतरक्षणाय
तुभ्यं नमो जिन ! भवोदधिशोषणाय ॥ 26 ॥

Written in V.S. 1653 at Idar (Gujarat) for his pupil, the *Maṅgalavāda* seeks to examine the objectives of the benediction (*maṅgalācaraṇa*) from the standpoint of Nyāya philosophy. The detailed evaluation led the author to conclude that the *maṅgalācaraṇa* was of three types—physical, oral and mental. The absence of benediction in Keśavamiśra's *Tarkabhāṣā* is explained on the ground that it is the mental benediction that has supplanted the formal *maṅgala*. Though the work is concerned with neo-*nyāya* which is notorious for toughness, the presentation is throughout lucid and precise, shorn of unnecessary accretions or details. One of its codices forms part of the treasure of rare manuscripts in *Abhaya Jaina Granthālaya*, Bikaner.

Samayasundara did not mean to overburden his writings with abstruse grammatical forms. However, his firm grounding in grammar is evident from

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24. यदूर्ध्वरेखाभिधमंह्रिपंकजे
भवान् ततः पूज्यपदं प्रलब्धवान् ।
प्रभो ! महामात्यवितीर्णकोटिशः—
सुदक्षिणाऽदो हृद । लक्षणं दधौ ॥ 1 ॥

25. *Kusumāñjali, op. cit.*, p. 604-614.

his references to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Hemacandra's *Liṅgānuśāsana*, *Kalāpavyākarana* and *Viṣṇuvārtika*. *Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa-rahasya* (SVR) and *Sārasvata-śabda rūpāvali* (SSR), that forms a sort of supplement to the former, bear testimony to his equipment in the Sārasvata system of grammar. The initial and concluding parts of the SVR indicate that the author had herein dealt with the *Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa* in its entirety but the known segment is confined to the verbal forms alone, albeit in all the tenses and subdivisions. One of its MSS is known to exist in Jinaharivihāra, Palitana. The authorship of the SSR has been disputed, though a verse[26] quoted by Vinayasāgara, unmistakably attributes it to Samayasundara.

The *Kālakācārya-kathā* (KK) forms an important contribution to the story-literature. The story of Kālaka has exercised powerful influence on the Jaina society to the extent that it led to the emergence of no less than thirty works of uneven worth and girth. Samayasundara's KK occupies a high place in the series of similar works, attempted earlier. It is still known through its manuscripts which are deposited with some of the *Bhaṇḍāras* at Bikaner, Calcutta etc. The KK was written in V.S. 1666 while Rawal Tejsi was ruling at Vikrampur.[27] One *Kathākoṣa* is also attributed to Samayasundara though it is not clear whether it was an original work or a mere collection of earlier stories. A MS of the *Kathāpatrāṇi*, written at Jalore in V. S. 1695 by the author in his own hand, contains 114 stories.

The *viśeṣa-saṁgraha*, intended to be a guide to the young students,[28] adds up, in all essentials, to a selection of excerpts from ancient texts and their commentaries, on a wide variety of subjects. The excerpts are properly referenced to facilitate quick location in the originals. The selection is a virtual boon to the researchers, the like of which is hard to come across. The *Viśeṣa-saṁgraha* was written at Lūṇakaraṇasara (Bikaner) in V. S. 1685.

Some of Samayasundara's works deal with Jaina rituals and other religious observances. *Cāturmāsa-Vyākhyāna* (V. S. 1665), *Śravakārādhanā* (V. S. 1667) and *Dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-śuddhi* (V. S. 1685) belong to this class. The last work is distinguished by a profound discussion on astrological matters. Samayasundara was brilliantly helped in its composition by his grand pupil Jayakīrti, who was well-versed in astrology.[29]

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[26] सारस्वतस्य रूपाणि पूर्वोवृत्तैरलीलिखत् ।
स्तम्भतीर्थे मधौ मासे गणि-समयसुन्दरः । *SSR*, *Praśasti*, 1.

[27] *KK*, *Praśasti*, 1.

[28] *Viśeṣa-saṁgraha*, *Praśasti*, 3-4.

[29] *Dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-śuddhi*, *Praśasti*, 1-2.

His *Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvalī* (KP) seeks to trace the genealogy of the pontiffs of the *Kharatara-gaccha*, right from Gaṇadhara Gautama, the first disciple of Lord Mahāvīra. Its value is immensely enhanced by the life-accounts of the different Ācāryas, appended to the tables. Samayasundara wrote the work at Khambat in V. S. 1690.[30] The well-known *Abhaya Jaina Granthālaya* of Bikaner is said to be in possession of one of its MSS.

Tṛṇāṣṭaka, Rajoṣṭaka, Udgacchatsūryabimbāṣṭaka and *Samasyāṣṭaka*, are some of the minor works of Samayasundara that are available in print.[31]

Besides these original writings on a wide variety of subjects, Samayasundara has to his credit an equally large number of commentaries on ancient texts, both sacred and profane, that serve to establish him as a scholiast of no mean order. His commentaries concern themselves, not unlike his original works, with diverse disciplines. These seem to have been spurred by the keenness to meet the requirements of his pupils in the monastry. In view of their succinctness, most of the commentaries are appropriately called *Vṛttis*. Only a few of them are available in print, the others being scattered in various *Bhaṇḍāras* in the form of manuscripts which are hard to be secured for proper evaluation.

Of the non-Jaina works Samayasundara has chosen for elucidation, Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasaṁbhava* deserve special attention. The two poems have indeed been worthy games for many a Jaina scholiast. Samayasundara's *vṛtti* on *Raghuvaṁśa*, aptly named *arthalāpanikā*, seeks to resolve the text in simple language with particular stress on dissolving the compounds. At places the author has offered fresh interpretation of the well-known verses or parts thereof. The compound *pārvatīparameśvarau* in 1.1, for instance, has been interpreted as *pāravatīpaśca parameśvaraśca iti* (*Śivakeśavau*). *Pitapratibaddhavatsām* (II. 1) has likewise been given a new rendering as : *pitaḥ śankurudāhṛta ityuktatvāt pīte śankau pratibaddho vatso yasyāḥ tām.*

A copy of the *Arthalāpanikā* is preserved in Jain Bhavan at Calcutta. It consists of sixty-seven folios. According to Vinayasāgara Ji,[32] it was written at Khambat, in V.S 1692.

A similar pattern of interpretation is witnessed in the *vṛtti* on *Kumārasambhava*. The Jinaharivihāra of Palitana (Gujarat) is in possession of a MS of the commentary which attests to its having been written in V.S. 1679.

Samayasundara's gloss on the *Vṛttaratnākara* reflects his deep grasp of the science of prosody. By virtue of its merits it commands a high place in the mass of commentaries it has evoked, down the years. Composed of six chapters, the *vṛtti* is known to have been concluded in V.S. 1694 on the auspicious day of Dīpāvālī.[33] Three of its manuscripts are deposited with the Jain Bhavan, Calcutta.

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[30] *KP*, *Praśasti*, 1.

[31] *Kusumāñjali*, op. cit., P. 494-497.

[32] *Kusumāñjali*, *op. cit.*, His write-up, Mahopādhyāya Samayasundara, p. 51, F. N. 6

Samayasundara is credited with the commentaries on *Meghadūta* and the third canto of *Māghakāvya* also. The latter is known through its solitary MS preserved in the Surāṇā Library at Churu (Raj.).

His *Ṭīkā* on *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra* of Vāgbhaṭa is intended to unravel the essence of Sanskrit Poetics, as it is propounded in the work. The commentary is marked by a pleasing clarity and performs well the purpose it is expected to discharge. While elucidating the various concepts discussed by Vāgbhaṭa, the commentator has not shunned to evaluate the views enunciated on them by other writers. That invests the commentary with a critical flair. It was primarily meant to serve as a guide to the author's pupil Hari Rāma in prosecuting his studies in Poetics. It is known for certain to have been composed in V. S. 1692.[34]

It is again to his keenness to minister to the needs of the students that his gloss on the *Daśavaikālika-sūtra*, one of the most sacred texts of the Jainas, owes its origin.[35] The *Daśavaikālika-sūtra* has been commented upon, down the years, by a large number of enlightened scholars including the polymoth Haribhadrasūri, whose commentary Samayasundara denounces as abstruse (*viṣama*).[36] Samayasundara has handled the Prakrit text with assured authority. The *Dīpikā* unmistakably betrays his deep grasp of the vast mass of canonical literature. His claim that the gloss, though not inexhaustive, is characterised by lucidity and ease, is not unjustified. It indeed serves to project the contents of the text in bold relief. On the author's own testimony, the gloss was written at Khambat, in V. S. 1691 (*śaśinidhiśṛṅgāramite varṣe*).

His commentary on Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra*, another equally sacred text, is aimed to serve a higher purpose, much beyond the academic needs of the monastic students. The *Kalpasūtra* is known to have evoked, over the ages, as many as ninety commentaries. Samayasundara seems to have gone through at least a majority of them with a good sieve. He was justifiably convinced of the merits of his *Kalpalatā*,[37] which, he asserts, with an egoistic air, was sure to surpass the earlier glosses and commentaries.[38]

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[33] *Vṛttaratnākara-vṛtti, Praśasti*, 2.

[34] *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra-ṭīkā, Praśasti*, 3.

[35] मया तु शीघ्रप्रबोधाय शिष्यार्थं सुगमा कृता ।

[36] हरिभद्रकृता टीका वर्तते विषमा परम् ।

[37] Śrī Jinadattasūri-jñāna-bhaṇḍāra, Bombay, V. S. 1996

[38] वक्ष्येऽहं कल्पसूत्रस्य व्याख्यानि नव स्फुटम् ।
सुगमानि सुबोधानि नानाग्रन्थानुसारतः ।

Though begun at Lūṇakaraṇasara, it was completed at Riṇipura, sometime between V. S. 1684 and 1685, when as confirmed by *Duriyarasamīra-vṛtti* and *Yati-ārādhanā* respectively, Samayasundara was camping at Rinipura.[39]

Written at Ahmedabad in V. S. 1688. Samayasundara's gloss on *Navatattva-prakaraṇa*, popularly known as *Navatattva-vṛtti* (*samvat-vasu-gaja-rasa-mīte*), has the undoubted merit of driving home, in lucid and simple phraseology, the essence of the nine *tattvas*, that form the core of the Jaina doctrine, and, as such, serves as a gateway to the abstruse tenets of the Āgamas.

The *Daṇḍakoprakaraṇa* of Muni Gajasāra, consisting of 42 Prakrit stanzas, has also received Samayasundara's attention. The gloss seeks to explain each *gāthā* concisely in a manner that the true import thereof is brought home without any ambiguity sticking to it. It was written at Ahmedabad in V. S. 1696. A MS. of the gloss is deposited in the collection of the late Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta.

Himself a noted writer of devotional hymns, Samayasundara could have hardly ignored the *stotras*, which command as much reverence as the canonical texts, nay are more popular with the laity. He has indeed elucidated some of the more popular *stotras* with his glosses and notes. Besides the great *Bhaktāmara* and *Kalyāṇamandira*, Samayasundara has commented upon *Ṛṣi-maṇḍala*, *Saptasmaraṇa*, *Duriyarasamīra* and *Jayatihuṇa*. While his glosses on the last three are available in print, those on *Bhaktāmāra*, *Kalyāṇamandira* and *Ṛṣi-maṇḍala* are known to exist in the form of manuscripts only.

Samayasundara is also stated to have commented upon *Vimalastuti*, *Liṅgānuśāsana*, *Aniṭkārikā*, *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa*, *Verayatha* and *Cattāri paramāṅgāni*, which are scarce to obtain. The *vṛtti* on *Sandehadohāvali* of Jinadattasūri, a work on Jaina ethics, was written in V.S. 1693.

Thus Samayasundara was a man of many parts. He embodied the tradition of sound and multi-facet scholarship that has unfortunately faded out. The mere quantum of his literary output would do credit to the greatest author. And what has been revealed here pertains to one language only. His writings in Rajasthani form a formidable mass of literature.

न सूत्रं नावचूरिश्च न वृत्तिर्नान्यपत्रकम् ।
ग्राह्यं व्याख्यानवेलायां पुस्तकेऽस्मिन् करस्थिते ॥ *Kalpalatā*, -3.

[39] *Kalpalatā*, *Praśasti*, 17.

A GOLDEN FEATHER IN THE CROWN OF THE DIVINE LANGUAGE—SANSKRIT

By

UMA S. DESHPANDE *

An illustrious example of an ardent devotee endowed with the grace of the Divine and consequently capable of composing excellent poetry in Sanskrit is furnished by a great Sanskritist—Pujalal R. Dalwadi (1901-1985) who resided at Pondicherry—Āśrama of Śrī Aravinda for more than six decades.

As God Kṛṣṇa has rightly remarked in the *Bhagavadgītā* (XI. 54) such a staunch devotee of the Almighty God becomes the recipient of super human calibre and extra-ordinary vision. Bereft of any formal education or training, Pujalal was elevated to the rank of a prominent poet glorified by the Divine Mother whose benign Grace brought about the noble transformation of Her constant devotee—Śrī Pujalal.

Pujala's brief profile :

Due to the poverty in his family Pujalal had to do some small miscellaneous works in his young age. In 1924 he first visited Pondicherry and being immensely impressed by the majestic glory and resplendent presence of Śrī Aravinda and the Mother, he again went there and settled at Śrī Aravinda Āśrama. While performing the works assigned to him there he continued to read and study a number of books in various languages. His total dedication to the Divinities at the Āśrama, continuous reading and pondering over different branches of knowledge and unflinching faith in the Supreme Power enabled and inspired him to write various kinds of books in Sanskrit, Gujarati and English languages. In Gujarati he has penned more than eighty books. He was awarded Śrī-Aravinda Gold Medal for his Gujarati translation of Śrī Aravinda's *Sāvitrī* in *Samaślokī* style.

In Sanskrit, Pujalal has written four magnificent books, viz. *Stotrasaṁhitā* (1977), *Stotrasaṁgītikā* (1982), *Bālanāṭakāni* (1983) and *Ālāpamālā* (1991).

Let us understand the contents by briefly analysing them. First, the *Stotra*-texts :—

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Metaphysical Concepts :

The two divine personages—Śrī Aravinda and Mātājī (The Mother) are identified with the Supreme Being endowed with trans-empirical attributes and transcendental powers. For the poet Śrī Aravinda is the incarnate God, the conqueror of passions and so of the transmigratory mortal worlds. He is endowed with infinite glory :—

Tvaṁ sammūrtaḥ Prabhuḥ Pitā
Mahimnaste Prabhā'amitā / (p. 21)

Kāmasya jetā jagatām vijetā
Vibhurvibhūnām sa hi viśvavandyaḥ / (p. 23)
Stotrasaṁhitā

He is that highest solar light associated with all that is auspicious and sublime :-

Dātā sajjyotiṣām tvam mama
Hṛdayatamodhvaṁsinām satyasūryaḥ (p. 41)
and
Māñgalyānām mahimādhāraḥ
Pīyuṣāṇām pārāvāraḥ (p. 69)

Śrī Aravinda was not only a great *yogi* and metaphysician, but, was also an erudite expounder of Vedic lores. He is the perennial source of light and delight, destroying evil thoughts and conferring purity along with the capability to go beyond the mortal world on the person who remembers Him with absolute faith :—

Satyasuvarṇajyotistenānītam
Vedarahasyam prasphuṭatayā praṇītam (p. 11)
and
Smaraṇam tava śubhanāmnaḥ kurute
Pāvanamantaḥkaraṇam /

Nāmapotakāśrayeṇa sukaram
Saṁsṛtisāgarataraṇam (p. 21)
Stotrasaṁgītikā

Equally adorable is the Divine Mother who descended on the earth for the upliftment of the people facing dire distress, unbearable agony and disheartening calamity.

Varābhayādidāyinīm, Vibhorvidhervidhāyinīm
Prapannapotapāyinīm, sadā Namāmi mātaram (p. 16)
and
Duḥkhitānām dayāpūrṇā, śvāsinī tvam sukhāvahā /
Mayaṅkasadṛśoṅkaste sarvātaṅkavināṣakaḥ // (p. 79)
Stotrasaṁhitā

The Mother who is the dispeller of distress, saviour of the downtrodden and all pervasive respresents the supreme light, bliss and serenity eagerly sought after by every person in modern age :—

Tvam Hi trijagad-dyotiḥ, Parabrahmaṇo jyotiḥ
Sat tvam, Cit tvam, Cānandastvam Śivaśaśvataśāntiḥ / (p. 39)
Trilokaśokahāriṇīm
Adhogatātmatāriṇīm /
Carācare vicāriṇīm
Namāmyaham mahāmbikām (p. 49)
Stotrasaṁgītikā

According to Pujalal, the Supreme Reality incarnated in the forms of Śrī Aravinda and Mother can be attained only through ardent devotion and total dedication to them. *Moṣka* or final beatitude can be achieved by the divine grace of these two Divinites. No *Karma* neither any worship is of any avail to get rid of the cycle of birth and death. Those who totally and faithfully surrender to these Divinities were not only relieved of their worldly miseries and calamities but bestowed with boundless prosperity and infinite Bliss. These divinities, according to the poet, being Omniscient, Omnipresent and Omnipotent govern and guide the activities of those who approach them with humility and reverence.

Ethical and Moral Message:—

The poet repeatedly urges us to embibe high values of human life like sincerity, modesty, affinity, kindness, affection which contribute to make our life full of real joy, rich affluence and lasting peace of mind. The inculcation of these virtues is possible only through the company and direct communication with the Divine :—

Prabhubhaktiḥ Śrī-Śaktiḥ (p. 32)
and
Prema pavitram prema
Bhagavati tvayi mama bhavatāt

Yad duḥkhānām pralayaṅkārī
Svargasudhānāmīha sañcārī (p. 37)
Stotrasaṁgītikā

As frequently pointed out in different Upaniṣadic texts it is only by continuous meditation and contemplation of the Supreme that a man achieves immortality; So says the poet :—

Amṛtāsārah / *prabhutāpāraḥ*
Bhūvanabhāravahanakṣamaḥ (p. 91)
and

Tava cārucaraṇayuge'asmadīya
Bhāgyasiddhirbhāsvarā (p. 97)

Rightly, therefore, Pujalal glorifies the essential hallmarks of our life, viz. *Vīratā* (fortitude), *Namratā* (humility) *Sadbhāva* (nobility), and *Śraddhā* (devout faith in the Almighty God). Following the Upaniṣadic precept, viz. *Nāyam Ātmā balahīnena lubhyaḥ—Muṇḍaka* III. 2.4, the poet asks us to cultivate *Vīratā* or bravery without which our life gets reduced to pitiable plight marked by poverty and despondency.

Says the poet:—

Vīratāvarjitā lokā varavaibhavavarjitāḥ |
Dīnā hīnastamolīnā jīvanti kṣudrajantuvat || (p. 61)

The courageous and brave people ably protect *Dharma*, contribute to the wellbeing of others and enjoy heavenly pleasures here and hereafter:—

Vīryavanto mahāvīrāḥ satyadharmasya rakṣakāḥ |
Lokeśmin svargasāmrājyasaubhāgyamupabhuñjate || p. 62

As it is pointed out in the *Gītā* (XVI. 14) the God likes devout and humble people, not those who are haughty and arrogant. The poet glorifies such a candid and modest Soul:—

Ahamrahita Ātmā cidgaganonnītaḥ |
Paramaprabhoḥ pade sthiracittā || (p. 87)

In "*Sadbhāvāṣṭakam,*" the poet points out the great significance of *Sadbhāva* or nobility of human nature which gives rise to affinity, delight, serenity and unity with the Supreme Reality:—

Sadbhāvājjāyate snehaḥ snehātsañjāyate sukham |
Sukhātsañjāyate śāntiḥ, śānterbrahmasamādhayaḥ || (p. 98)

Śraddhā, the absolute faith in oneself and in the Supreme God commended by the Scriptures enables a person to achieve progress, to follow the right path and to secure all the desired objects. Rghtily, therefore, the poet observes in "*Śraddhā*":—

Śraddhaiva sādhanārambhaḥ
Śraddhaiva mārgadarśinī |

Śraddhaiva satyadṛk śaktiḥ
Śraddhaiva sarvasādhikā || (p. 61)
Stotrasaṁgītikā

The poet thus upholds and stresses the significance of basic values of human life. By imbibing these moral and ethical virtues a person becomes capable of retaining balance of mind, equanimity of intelligence and maintaining cordial relations with others in the society. Inculcation of these values like affinity, kindness, sympathy, discretion etc. is of paramount importance especially for a person in modern age who has to face different types of stress and strain from cradle to grave. Moreover, such a virtuous person alone can accomplish splendid tasks and can lessen anguish and agony of others around him.

Poetic and Literary Beauty :—

The two anthologies-*Stotrasaṁhitā* and *Stotrasaṁgītikā* are replete with figures of speech, lucid diction, apt metres and picturesque depictions.

In the poem " *Bulbulaḥ* " the poet vividly describes the little bird, furnishing splendid example of *Svabhāvokti-Alaṁkāra* :—

Gāyati madhuram gāyati madhuram
Bulbulabālaḥ śākhāyām /

Śyāmaśirasko drumadalacārī /
Pṛcchatale'aruṇacandrakadhārī // (p. 75).

Beautiful flower is described metaphorically thus : —

Sṛṣṭeḥ kavitā
Sumanasi Savitā
Vilikhati citravicitram // (p. 95).*

Similarly *Atiśayokti* (Hyperbole) is illustrated in the depiction of charming *Uṣas*-Dawn.

Kumkumacūrṇam vikirati
Vibuddhaviśve sumaṅgalaiḥ sārdham /

Sarovarāṇām salile
Samarpayantī śriyam sarojebhyaḥ (p. 66) *

Following is a nice example of ***Nidarśanā*** :—

Grīṣma Ugrastapścaryām kārayan sacarācaram
Devatānām kṛpādānam varṣārūpeṇa yacchati (p. 69).

* *Stotrasaṁgītikā*

There are fine illustrations of sonorous alliteration—*Anuprāsa* in the depictions of majestic personages of Śrī Aravinda and Mother

Mahābhāgo mahodyogī mahāyaśo mahākṣamī
Mahāmitram mahāsāhyam mahānamro Maheśvaraḥ
Stotrasaṁhitā (p. 139)

Likewise the Mother is praised :—

Vadānyānām vadānyā sā
Vibhuvaibhavinī vibhā/

Śaraṇyānām śaraṇyā śrī
Duḥkhadāridryadāriṇī // (p. 45)
Stotrasaṁgītikā

The poet predominantly writes in the *Vaidarbhī* style the main features of which are sweetness and lucidity of style.

The diction of his poetry is thus lucid, flowing, free from long and difficult compounded words, easy to understand, replete with meaning and melodiously sweet.

The multifaceted and impressive personality of God Kṛṣṇa is portrayed thus:—

Premānandaḥ prakaṭita iha prārthanāpūrtihetuḥ
Saundaryāṇāmamaramahimā śyāmavarṇaḥ śaraṇyaḥ
Vedādīnām dyutiravikalā viśvalokārthagītā
Srīkṛṣṇo'saujayatu bhagavān devadevo Manuṣye
Stotrasaṁhitā (p. 89)

The charming Spring season coming from Malaya-mountain and ushering in cool and pleasant atmosphere is depicted thus:—

Kusumākaro vasantaḥ prāptaḥ
Sundaratāyāḥ swāmī
Malayāṅilatnragārūḍhaḥ san
Malayajasumanodāmī // (p. 93).*

Similar is the charming description of the wind (*Vihārī vātaḥ*) blowing gently and spreading around fragrance as well as zeal :—

Vāti vihārī vātaḥ /
Mṛdu mṛdu vāti vihārī vātaḥ //
Aho manoharomadhuraḥ /
Ullāsayannura Uraḥ
Vikāsayan kusumānī kānane
Malayakulācalajātaḥ // (p. 72).*
Stotrasaṁgītikā

Different types of metres like *Anusṭup,*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Śikhariṇī*, *Triṣṭup*, *Pramāṇī*, *Śālinī*, *Śārdulavikrīḍitam*, *Sragdharā* etc. are skilfully and appropriately used by the poet in both the texts.

We find a number of picturesque depictions in these anthologies.

The divine personages of Śrī Aravinda and the Mother are vividly sketched thus :-

Kaviḥ kavīnām mantradṛṣṭā
Dīvyajīvanasya bhuvi tvaṣṭā
Parabrahmaṇaḥ puruṣa pratimā
Maharbhuvanamārtaṇḍaḥ // (p. 31).*

and

Mātā premamayī hyasmākam, paramānandanadhāma
Sacinmayī sadāsusnigdhā, kalpānāmārāmaḥ // (p. 39)

* *Stotrasaṁhitā.*

" *Bhārata-Mātā* " is similarly depicted as the abode of divine Light, as having the Gaṅgā as her necklace and snow-clad Himālaya as her crown:—

Parmātmanoḥ prabhāyā dhāma
Yasyā hṛdaye gaṅgā dāma |
Gaurīgirīśagirimukuṭā yā
Varavaibhavavikhyātā ||
Stotrasaṁhitā (p. 165)

The majestic splendour of *Gīrvāṇabhāratī* and the natural glory at the rise of the Sun are presented in a charming manner:—

Śubhasauṣṭhavasampannā
Rasairnavabhirulbaṇā |
Mādhuryādiguṇairādhyā
Mantraśaktirmahādhvaniḥ || (p. 60)
and
Udayati bhānuḥ kupitakṛśānuḥ
Pūrvadigaṁbaradhāre |
Kāñcanakāntirgaganākrāntiḥ
Prasarati pārāvāre || (p. 68)
Stotrasaṁnigītikā

As far as the *rasa* (sentiment) is concerned, the whole poetry in both the texts predominantly exudes *Śānta* and *Bhakti-rasa* enhancing mental serenity, intellectual stability and spiritual fervour of a reader who gets enraptured while going through these *stotras*, panegyrics and lyric verses. Almost each and every composition in these texts is replete with poetic beauty, superb depictions and marvellous contents which are rarely found in modern poetry written in Sanskrit. Equally excellent and interesting are the prose texts, viz. *Ālāpamālā* and *Bālanāṭakāni* written by Pujalal.

Ālāpamālā consists of the short dialogues some of which are between teacher and students, some between various students themselves, some between brothers and their sisters and some between a mother and her children. These conversations dealing with different useful topics like study of Sanskrit, proper recitation of prayers and verses, discussion regarding noble values of human life, observing vernal beauty in the garden, describing charming natural phenomena, playing different types of indoor and outdoor games, going to the market for purchasing articles of daily usage and so on contribute to the significance and utility of his booklet.

Thus, while explaining the beauty of the Sunrise, the teacher not only refers to the *Gāyatrī-Mantra* (K.-VIII. 62.10) but also to the hymn of *Gāyatrī*, seen and proclaimed by *Maharṣi* Aravinda :—

Aum tat savitur varam rūpam
Jyotiḥ parasya dhīmahi
Yannah satyena dīpayet (p. 49).

The Sun-rise activating and inspiring all the living beings is depicted thus :—

Nidrā tandrā jaḍatā yāti
Bhuvanamabhinava prāṇaIrbhāti

Jāgrajjīvāḥ sajjā bhūtvā
Smaranti nijakartavyam (p. 22)

The text is not only replete with meaningful verses, superb *Subhāṣitas* but also with some new words coined by the learned author so as to cover some common objects and events normally found in the daily life of modern children. To give a few examples :—*Miṣṭikā*=toffee, *Gola-kṣepaḥ*=Shot put, *Prāsa-kṣepaḥ*=Javelin-throw, *Śikya-kandukam*=Basket ball, *Patatkandukam*=Foot ball, *Phā'akā*=Cricket, *Kanduka-Prāsanam*=Bowling, *Vallanam*=batting, *Valla-dharaḥ*=Batsman, *Kṣepaṇī*=Oar, *Sañcikā*=Notebook, *Prāptikā*=receipt. This linguistic feature not only evinces the flexibility and elasticity of the Sanskrit language but also its adaptability and compatibility making it fit to be the colloquial language of India.

Ālāpamālā also consists of pithy and racy lyrical songs especially meant for the children and a novice in the field of Sanskrit-studies. To illustrate a few :—

Naukā tarati ca sarati ca saralam
Dadāti mārgam jalamati taralam etc. (p. 43)
Chhuk chhuk chhuk |

Samāgato'yam lohapatharathaḥ (Railway-Train)
Chhuk chhuk chhuk ||

Yantramayo'yam mahiṣaḥ
Dhvanayan ghoṣeṇa diśaḥ
Bhīṣaṇarūpo dhāvannāste
Chhuk chhuk chhuk (p. 83)

In *Patra-gītam*, a letter posted at one place but received at a far off distance by a person who feels delighted by the news of his dear and near ones is addressed thus :—

Katham tvam yāsi patra bahudūram ?
Na staḥcaraṇṇau sañcaraṇāya
Nāpi ca pakṣavuḍḍayaṇāya |
Grāmād grāmam tathāpi gachasi
Gachasi deśād deśam |

Tarasi samudram vinā vilambam
Laṅghasi giripradeśam // (p. 80)

Pujalal's *Bālā-Nā ṭakāni* contains short, amusing plays for the children. Although there is little stageability in these plays endowed with literary beauty, splendid verses and the majestic content pertaining to inculcation of moral and ethical values can very well be adapted as excellent Radio-plays.

Apart from *Śānta-Rasa* predominantly found in most of the plays, the *Hāsya* and *Adbhuta-Rasa* are also skilfully delineated by the playwright in the plays like *Matkuṇāsuram*, *Vānarabiḍālakam*, *Pārvatīputrakam*, *Aindrajālikam* etc. Based on the Mother's story-" Virtues " the poet has written an allegorical play " *Guṇadevatā* " in which the virtues like *Namratā*, *Dayālutā*, *Dhīratā* *Saumyatā* are personified and their significance in human life is precisely brought about.

Saumyatā (gentleness) introduces herself thus :—

Saumyatāsmi sumaistulyā
Madhuryeṇa pariplutā /

Śāntasattvā vinītā ca
Ṣarvathā krodhavarjitā // (p. 155)

Those who are desirous of learning Sanskrit language get abundant information through these texts which provide exact Sanskrit connotations of various types of trees, flowers, fruits, birds, animals commonly found in India. Moreover, several Vedic, mythological and metaphysical references envisage a few glimpses of our rich Indological heritage The erudite and devout personality of the poet Pujalal is well reflected in his literature which would last like a landmark in the field of Sanskrit literature. To speak in figurative language, this splendid contribution of the modern poet adds a golden feather in the crown of the Divine Language-Sanskrit.

This literature conveying the significance of the fundamental human values and noble virtues as well as of devotion to the scholarly yet saintly personages like *Maharṣi* Aravinda and the Mother helps in imparting mental peace, intellectual courage and spiritual serenity.

Modern man engulfed with countless problems and strains would find real relief, delight and solace by reading these texts which solely aim at the proclamation of that which is absolutely real, noble and glorious—*Satyam*, *Śivam*, *Sundaram*.

BASIC REQUIREMENTS FOR CONSERVATION OF DOCUMENTARY HERITAGE

By

BALVANT JANI*

Towards the evidences of the existence of our ancient and grand civilization, various means and materials of unique importance may be taken into account, such as : Paintings, Sculpture, ancient ruins as well as manuscripts of olden times. Out of these, my association being restricted to the sphere of manuscripts only, I shall confine my discussion to that particular topic.

In my essay pertaining to the above topic, I shall mention details especially with reference to Gujarat—Saurashtra—Kutch. I shall also draw attention to some curious observations which occurred to me during my visits to some of the important Store—Houses of Manuscripts in the course of my research work. Of course, I have not the slightest intention of criticising any of these Store-Houses where manuscripts are being preserved, or their administrative machinery, or any person, whomsoever. It will be nothing but an humble effort on my part to point out the various types of situations one has to face while dealing with them.

: 1 :

It is a well-known fact, and a historical truth, too, that Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kutch have a very long heritage of ancient civilization. Among these, Gujarat possesses a glorious heritage of literary and cultural history, as well. There are many, many volumes written on and dedicated to this subject. It may be assumed that Gujarati language and literature rose into prominence from 1150 A.D. onwards. There are, for instance, mansuscripts by eminent scholars, such as: a manuscript of the composition by Vajrasenasūri dating back to 1169 A.D., and yet another manuscript of the composition by Śālibhadrasūri, dating back to 1184 A.D. These manuscripts are extant even today, and they bear ample testimony to the above assumption. Starting from this point upto 1850 A.D., a number of manuscripts written in different centuries, with indication of time, are readily available. One of the most striking peculiarities of this language and literature is that it has a vast and extensive history which no other Indo—Aryan language can boast of : and it assures the availability of authentic and trustworthy material, say, in the form of manuscripts.

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: 2 :

We know that in olden times, various mediums were utilized for spoken, verbal or written expression of our thoughts and ideas. Some of these mediums may be mentioned here: Rocks or Stone-Slabs, Metal Plates, Palm-leaf or *Bhojapatra* (bark of birch tree), and finally, paper manuscripts. Luckily in Gujarat, all the five kinds of manuscripts, as mentioned above, are available. It is a distressing fact, however, that more often than not, the compiler in possession of such manuscripts—whether an individual collector or an institution -- seems to lack what may be called the basic and elementary information, precision, care and concern regarding the maintenance and conservation of old manuscripts, which contain rich and valuable material in respect of the Medieval Literature. Not only this, some of them do not seem to have the slightest idea of the real worth and usefulness of a lot of details compressed in these manuscripts, in terms of historical, cultural, political, social, literary, and linguistic or grammatical significance. As a result of this, such precious manuscripts are physically collected and stored, as a matter of routine, often deprived of proper care, concern and solicitude, and also, the process of systematic conservation. It will be worthwhile if strict statutory provisions are made to ensure the conservation of thousands of such manuscripts lying here and there in a sort of complete disorder -either tied in big bundles or stuffed in big chests. Necessary arrangements should be made to chalk out a series of programmes for the purpose of proper maintenance and use of these manuscripts.

In real sense, the art of conservation of manuscripts has not seen the light of the day of full-fledged development on our side. Even a sense of proper understanding and knowledge requisite for it does not seem to have reached the portals of some important institutions. On the other hand, it is obvious that whatever authentic material has been published so far in regard to the primary introduction of this subject or a close acquaintance with the scripts described therein, is very scanty indeed.

: 3 :

A good number of Palm-leaf manuscripts written during the lifetime of one of the great historical figures, Vāstupāl, including those written by him are now available in Khambhat, an ancient city of Gujarat. There are also relics and manuscripts dating back to the time of Hemcandrācārya. These manuscripts are tied in red cotton cloth bundles and placed in wooden boxes, and then they are stored in steel cupboards. Majority of these manuscripts is in good condition. Quite recently, the microfilming job of all these palm-leaf manuscripts, including a number of illustrated ones, has been accomplished by Shri Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. In Patan, many important manuscripts are stored in fire-proof chambers to protect them from fire. In Surat, Vadodara, Ahmedabad, and here in Rajkot, old manuscripts are preserved by following the same old method. In some cases, they are tied in silken or red cotton clothes, wrapped in cellophane bags and then stored in steel cabinets.

Recently, consequent upon the sanction of grant received from the National Archives of India, New Delhi, we have been able to arrange for dust-proof solid teak-wood boxes conforming to the shape and size of the manuscripts to be stored in them, and to provide for insecticides such as : Naphthalene balls, or Paradichlorobenzine balls, to protect the manuscripts from insects. These wooden boxes are then placed in steel cupboards made from 20 gauge metal sheets after heating these sheets to specific temperature and then coloured during the process of their manufacture. As a result of these steps all these manuscripts are protected from the adverse effects of heat and moisture, and in this manner, our ancient heritage remains intact and is retained in its original form.

Since the process of manufacture in respect of various manuscripts, like Palm-leaf, *Bhojapatra* and Paper manuscripts, differs from one another, it is but natural that the methods of their conservation are likely to differ accordingly. Nevertheless, there are bound to be some common factors in the process. To mention but a few : how to prevent damage to a manuscript, or how to protect it from getting soiled, or if it is soiled, how to remove wastage and to prevent further damage and also how to restore such soiled manuscript to its original form. Thus, at least three of such methods would be necessary for conservation of any kind of manuscripts, and therefore, it is essential to make provision for ample guidelines as well as informative literature in respective regional languages, so that those who are associated with this field may be able to cultivate a close acquaintance with these processes.

In addition to this, it will be essential to have a sound knowledge of literature concerning the scientific ways and means for ensuring protection of Plam-leaf. *Bhojapatra*, and Paper manuscripts, not only from heat, moisture, and sunlight, but also from mildew and insects like : Thysanura, Isoptera, Coleoptera, Orthoptera and Corrodentia.

: 4 :

Apparently, means and materials contained in old manuscripts may precisely be described as a kind of sacred confluence of the very ancient heritage of human culture, and that is why, its conservation happens to be our moral duty. In Jainism, the writing and conservation of manuscripts were considered a part of the religious activity or a kind of meritorious deed. As a natural consequence of such zealous efforts, the Jain scholars have been successful in preserving their manuscripts to a very great extent. This is the reason, perhaps, why in the history of Medieval Gujarati literature, we come across abundant number of

Jain creative artists, whereas we get a rough and sparse idea in regard to Non-Jain creators.

Occasionally, it is observed that the damage caused to manuscripts is irreparable, and therefore, a sound knowledge of their conservation becomes a matter of great importance. In fact, for those manuscripts which are susceptible to damage, it is essential to bear in mind these three factors : Preservation, Conservation, and Restoration. In my opinion, real conservation can be said to be accomplished when it is supported by the other two objectives mentioned here. The whole sequence should be like this :—First of all, Preservation, then Conservation, and lastly Restoration. Let us examine these three factors in brief:-

(1) **Preservation :**

All objects on earth are, indeed, perishable, However, if due care is taken for their preservation, they can survive for a longer time. In other words, Preservation means the process used for protecting the manuscripts from all kinds of damage and impurity either caused by Nature or by insects.

(2) **Conservation :**

Notwithstanding all measures of proper preservation, where the original form of manuscripts has been destroyed either by accident or in natural course, various chemical processes are thoughtfully employed in order to prevent further damage and also to preserve its original form, and this process is known as Conservation.

(3) **Restoration :**

Restoration is a process which includes, discriminately joining the missing links in place of destroyed portions of a manuscript; or in case of a painting, to restore the details of original shades in places of pallid and faded colours, or at best, copying the outline or drawing a sketch of any picture which may be on the verge of gradual extinction. This process also includes another significant factor, that is, assortment and selection of suitable texts from the available manuscripts, while pursuing a scientific outlook and approach, to edit them and translate them into modern regional language, with annotations and critical evaluation, and finally, to publish them. This also happens to be a part of what is known as the process of Restoration.

By adopting the aforesaid processes of threefold nature, we shall be able to preserve this type of valuable material which could be treated as ready attestations of our glorious ancient cultural heritage.

: 5 :

The number of experts in this important field is very limited, it is true; Apart from this, there may be yet fewer followers and interested fellows.

Nevertheless, it would be worthwhile and advisable to start such activities which are necessary for healthy growth and development of this particular field, which needs further exploration, and to create a sort of congenial atmosphere for the same.

These may be detailed as follows :—

(1) Various committees should be formed at regional, zonal and national levels.

(2) A series of programmes should be planned and details of this field should be brought to the notice of general public, through various mediums of publicity, from time to time, with a view to moulding and shaping the taste of people at large.

(3) There should be proper planning for presenting the important basic facts relating to compositions of Art, Sculpture, Literature, Humanities and other Sciences, explored from old manuscripts, which have not seen the light of the day so far. Also, a list of specialists of respective fields should be prepared.

(4) Ample provision should be made for adequate facilities and financial assistance, such as allocation of grants, etc. for encouraging scholars and students who may be interested in research, exploration and editing of manuscripts.

(5) A scheme of fellowship should be implemented in regard to University, College Teachers or for post-Doctoral Research Work. Following the guidelines of a similar fellowship which is given by the Department of Archaeology for Ph.D. and M. Phil. projects.

(6) Allocation of Grants should be made for promoting this type of research work, editing and publications.

(7) There is a provision for assistance in respect of Items mentioned at Sr. No. (3), (4), (5) and (6) made by " The Human Resources Development and National Archives Department of Government of India. " However, since the structure of this provision is such that it cannot accommodate some of the really interested persons, it would be better if a practical viewpoint is adopted in its planning.

(8) Study of ancient scripts of respective regions, though important, does not find a place anywhere in the syllabus, whether pertaining to Art, Sculpture or Literature. Under the circumstances, it will be a step in the right direction, if Certificate or Diploma courses are prescribed for intensive training and pursuit of knowledge in this particular area, and ample provision should be made for its expenditure.

All these facts need to be included in the means and materials requisite for the ancient cultural heritage, which is preserved in the form of manuscripts, as, otherwise, their conservation would remain merely superficial. Unless all the three subtle methods described above are included in the rational concept of conservation, alongwith the notion of inspiring others towards its deep study, it will remain merely a customary conservation, just like rituals. In my view, these are the four aspects which make it a process perfect in all respects : Preservation, Conservation, Restoration and Study.

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REVIEWS

The Word and the World by Bimal Krishna Matilal, Pubd. by Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990, pp. xi + 190, Price : Rs. 175-00.

An article or a book by Professor Bimal Krishna Matilal (BKM) has so far always been an important publication in different fields of Indological Research, logical, ethical, religious and epistemological. His recent work, *The Word and the World*, is an outstanding contribution to the field of Indian philosophy of language.

The topic of the ancient Indian philosophy of language needed a unified treatment and BKM's book has done it superbly. Students of Indology all over the world would whole-heartedly thank him for giving them such a handy book so well-written and argued out with clarity.

A publication such as this should provide an opportunity to a reviewer to " look before and after " the field of its research. In this connection BKM himself has this to say :

> " It is clear... that the philosophy of language here is only a part of the larger discipline, epistemology or philosophy of knowledge. " (p. 39)

And on p. 121 he observes :

> " Our journey into the past can never be complete and final. This is not because we can never exhaustively discover the contours of the past, the land we have left behind, from the control of the materials that we now have at our disposal. Rather it is that we take *new* trips to the old land to see *new* landscapes from a *new* angle of vision. It is not that we cannot get always the cartography right, but that we try each time to get a new cartography. "

The central and larger core of BKM's book deals with Bhatṛhari (c. AD 480) and his doctrine of *sphoṭa* (Ch. 7-9, 11, 12). This will stand out as BKM's most distinctive contribution presented in a precise language and rounded off with an objective point of view. The other chapters in the book cover the usual ground in Indian philosophy of language, touching grammar, logic and epistemology which he enlivens with his " new angle of vision. " This new angle is to refute the charge that the tradition of Indian philosophy of language as it is derived from ancient grammatical works before and since Pāṇini was " guilty of

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'logocentrism' in Derrida's sense." (pp. 131) "The *sphoṭa* theory of language," he emphasises, "was not 'logocentric' in any damning sense." (p. 132)

BKM explains logocentrism as follows. "Modern Western linguists (notably and others)," says he, "have been eloquent about the primacy of speech or spoken words (as opposed to writing) as the indispensable foundation of linguistics. Saussure condemned his nineteenth century predecessors. . . for their 'scriptism' which presumably conflated writing with language, letters with sounds. . . ; some recent linguists have shown that this ***scriptist bias*** has persisted in many corners of the field of linguistics. . . Anybody familiar with J. Derrida's writing. . knows the opposite view which regards logocentrism (particularly the centrality of speech or the sonic element in language) as a bias which has suppressed free thinking about language and retarded our reflection on the origin and status of writing and its proper place in our study of language. The purpose of this critique of the so-called Western metaphysics, the 'deconstruction' of the texts of Saussure, Rousseau, etc. to expose the dangers and destructive effects of logocentrism, has been to develop a science of writing called grammatology. But this is not to say that writing is better than speech. Rather, the attempt, as I understand it, is to show that the said opposition is an illusion, since language, or the origin and development of language, has historically been as much involved with structured speech as with structured writing. . .". (p. 131)

Indian grammarians since the days of the śikṣās and the prātiśākhyas were untouched by logocentrism for they have been the pioneers of phonetics and it is from them that the Western linguists learnt of the primacy of the phonological approach to the scientific study of language. But this tradition was not very homogeneous and it would be rash to say, as does BKM, that the tradition was "free from the *fault* of logocentrism." (p. 132) Despite the fact that the Indian grammarians put speech-sound as the primary element of language, did not Yāska become a prey to the "fault of logocentrism" when he said that every noun derives from the verb? Pāṇini appears not to have agreed with him fully.

The fact is that the linguists of the 19th century wanted their students not to be trapped by the conventional writing systems, for otherwise they would be hunting in vain for the sounds represented by, e.g., the letters 'gh' of the English words 'night', 'light' 'sight' etc. This however did not mean that the linguists despised writing systems. The "fault" of logocentrism most probably came up in Indian as well as Western philosophies when grammars which were expected to be in touch with the living languages ceased to follow this method and became 'systems' in themselves, keeping themselves aloof from contamination with "the cart-drivers' language (*śakaṭika vākya*)", as BKM quotes Kuntaka to be aware of (p. 175). Such a view did come up during the era of the Brahmanical standardization in Indian linguistics and philosophical studies. By the time Patañjali came the Sanskrit language had already become a 'close system' in this sense.

In this connection it would be important to point out that logocentrism has two different connotations: (i) giving more importance to writing rather than to speech and (ii) looking upon the *word* as the unit of language with which to start any philosophical, logical epistemological, etc. discussion. Whereas all linguists would agree about (i) as the "fault" of logocentrism, logicians and philosophers would disagree about (ii). It is when we discuss questions such as 'what is a word ?', 'is *do* a word in the English sentence *where do you live ?*' 'how is a sentence different from word ?', etc. that we fall into the trap of logocentrism, that is, judge everything from the point of view of the *logos*. Logocentrism may have led to the formulation of great systems of thinking in Eastern as well as Western philosophies but the hollowness of such systems became more and more evident as the natural sciences began to advance during the second half of the 19th century. Philosophers of that century could not throw off the load of logocentrism all at once. It glimmered here and there in their writings. Then they tried escape routes: "whereof you cannot speak there of you must be silent," said Wittgenstein. Some began to expose the 'logic' of language itself. Each in his own way was seeking the path of truth without the encumbrance or hindrance of language. This inevitably led to a kind of mysticism for which some, including BKM, used the term 'holism' and explained it as did W. Sellars (1963) : " ..all awareness of sort, resemblance, facts, etc.—in short, all awareness of abstract entities—indeed all awareness even of particulars—is a linguistic affair." (quoted by BKM, p. 141). If this is not logocentrism what is it? Logocentrism tightened its grip over philosophy by preaching the primacy of language above all as it did earlier by preaching the primacy of the word. Natural scientists, however, knew that man began to speak earlier before he learnt to write and man as a 'speaking animal' has biologically not been older than three hundred thousand years.

The trouble is that many philosophers are duped by the idea that there is some relation between the empirical study of language as pursued by some grammarians in ancient India and by modern linguists since 1816 in Europe and philosophy of language such as that formulated by Humboldt in Europe and Bhartṛhari in India. In fact BKM vacillates between the two. The sub-title of his book reads: 'India's Contribution to the Study of Language' and the first sentence of the author in the Preface runs thus: "In this monograph I deal with what is today called 'philosophy of language." (vii) Do 'the study of language' and 'philosophy of language' mean the same thing for BKM? There is, for this reviewer, a gulf between the two; perhaps, they are different.

In so far as the Indian tradition is concerned Pāṇini was to a large extent an empirical linguist collecting and organizing the facts of the natural language spoken by a large majority of the people of the area in which he lived. Three hundred years after him Kātyāyana still followed the same tradition. A few centuries after, the empirical tradition ended and speculation took the place of observation. Whereas the prātiśākhya-writers reveal a great interest in the study of the variants as actually occurring in the natural dialects of the Vedic texts, Patañjali went in search of the universals In the dark corridors of Indian history, BKM strikes his foot against the problem when he writes:

> " Patañjali at one place says that *sphoṭa* is the ' speech ' or ' language ' (*śabda*) while the noise or sound (*dhvani*) is a quality (a feature) of the speech (language). It is explained that the ' noisy ' element in language, the audible part, can be soft or loud or long or short, but the *sphoṭa* is what remains constant, or the same, unaffected by the peculiarities of individual speakers. For Patañjali, a single letter or ' sound ' (*varṇa*) such as *k*, *p*, or a fixed sound-series or letter-series, can be a *sphoṭa*. The idea is that the variability due to utterance by different speakers in different tempos is what is called *sphoṭa*. The *sphoṭa* is thus a unit of sound, a single letter, or a letter-series. " (p. 79)

BKM's usage, once *dhvani* for sound and another time *varṇa* for the same in the above quotation would not only shock the modern linguist but also the traditional Indian grammarian. Grammarians and linguists have been using the terms ' phone ' and ' phoneme ' for the distinction between *dhvani* and *varṇa* for the last several centuries. The latter terms in each set are convenient generalizations of the former; there is no need of the doctrine of *sphoṭa* to understand the distinction.

Laying stress on " the point that grammar is not concerned with ontology (or semantics, i.e. things and events) but what people actually say, or rather how people speak of things and events " (p. 42) BKM brings to our notice that " this syntactic-semantic dispute over the nature of the *kāraka* categories might be read as a reflex of a much older dispute between the logicians (*Naiyāyikas*) and the grammarians (*Vaiyākaraṇas*). " In this context he quotes Nāgārjuna and Vātsyāyana and concludes : " the moral is that the usage must determine the grammatical theories, not the meaning ". (p. 44) Had BKM held fast to this empirical standpoint, he would have realised that when Pāṇini talked of *kāraka* he simply had an idea of ' case ' as a function of the verb arrived at by observation of the usage :

$$f(\mathrm{V}) = \mathrm{N}^{x}$$

Where V = verb, N = noun and x = case as

$$f(d\bar{a}) = \text{rāma}^{4}$$

where $x = 4$ is determined by the function known as *sampradāna*. The 6th case is not a *kāraka* because it is not a function of the verb; it indicates a 'relation' between nouns which stand in an 'order', e.g.

$$R(x, y, z) \neq R(x, z, y)$$

where, if we take x to stand for '*rāma*' y for '*bhrātṛ*' and z for '*mitra*' the relation would prove that

rāmasya bhrātuḥ mitram ≠ *rāmasya mitrasya bhrātā*

Pāṇini might have felt satisfied over this distinction between a relation and a function as a mathematician might in explaining matters in his science.

It is at this point that we would pose our last question. In the opening of his Chapter 2 'On Grammar and Linguistic Studies' BKM observes :

> " It has often been claimed in recent times that in the Indian scientific and philosophical tradition, mathematics plays a less crucial role and its place is taken by grammar or linguistics. " (p. 7)

Does BKM approve of this claim or not ? We hope he does, and would turn to a thorough exploration of how, despite the fact that good mathematics was available (cf Pāṇini's use of the terms *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*), philosophers influenced by logocentric thinking hardly made any use of it. The fact is that human thinking has to be either logocentric or symbolistic. Disciplines such as logic, psychology, epistemology, philosophy, etc. have been governed by the former mode of thinking while physics, mathematics, etc. have been governed by the latter. There is no correct or faulty logocentrism or symbolism; both can be either abortive (or closed) or successful (or open). Abortive thinking ends a system, whereas the successful one leads on to further development in discovery or creativity. Philosophers have often mixed the two modes. Such a mixture leads to abortive thinking, as Frege, Wittgenstein, and others realised. That is why wittgenstein struggled to save our intelligence from the 'bewitchment" of language. Linguists such as those following the tradition of Pāṇini and of historical studies have been struggling hard to save language from the bewitchment of philosophy. The two modes are not always opponents of each other; they can be complementary. It was unfortunate that the two modes, logocentric as manifested in the Upaniṣads and the symbolistic as manifested in the tāntric and algebraic compositions (the Bakhshālī Mss dating to c. 3rd c. AD) came to lead their lives separately in ancient India, though not antagonistically.

BKM's short introduction to the language of literature in the Appendices is therefore doubly significant for an indirect admission that there are far better methods to understand and analyse the world than those obtainable from the philosophy of language, and for a direct admission that " our natural language possesses unexplored powers , and a creative author, a mystic-poet, can easily explore such areas and experiment with such devices." (p. 155)

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Shri Rāmakīrtimahākāvyam, by Satyavrata Shastri, Pub. : by Moolamall Sachdev Foundation, Amarnath Sachdev Foundation, Bangkok, Thailand, 1990, pp. + to xxvi 1 to 530, Price : not mentioned.

The story of Rāma, representing as it does, a just and balanced socio-political order achieved ever in the history of mankind, became in course of time, the cherished epic not only for the people in India, but eventually of almost all people of Asia.

The present work is an ornate poem composed in Sanskrit, delineating in twenty five cantos, the *Rāmakien* or the Rāma-story as it has been known and transmitted in Thailand. The Rāma - story has inspired many persons of creative genius in Thailand who gave it expression in diverse artforms, including literary, performing and visual. The author has a flair for the study of *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* and had published, ' *The Rāmāyaṇa-A Linguistic Study* " earlier. He had an opportunity to stay in Thailand during which he imbibed deeply the cross-cultural currents, as a result of which he also wrote the book entitled, " *Studies in Sanskrit and Indian Culture in Thailand.* His erudition in Sanskrit literature and grammar and his direct acquaintance with Thai culture enabled him to compose in fluent, lucid and harmonious Sanskrit verses the Rāma story as prevalent in Thailand.

Though there is similarity of narrative structure, the differences regarding the events and incidents in the Thai *Rāmakathā* which mark deviations from the Vālmiki's narration, strike one as cultural overtones only. The people of Thailand believe it to be the story belonging to their own country :

ayodhyānāmanugarī dese'trādyāpi rājate,
sañjīvanī yato nītā so'driratraiva dṛśyate, I. 32.

" In this very country (Thailand) there exists the city named Ayodhyā. The mountain from where *sañjīvanī* (life-giving herb) was brought also is seen here alone. "

The people of Thailand relate the story of Rāma as if it occurred there only. The original structure of the *Rāmakathā* remains similar, but some congenial new anecdotes have been added.

The author is proficient in the grammar of Sanskrit language and is highly skilled in the art of poetic composition. As a result, his style, that is, the diction, syntax, flow, lucidity, alliteration with profuse use of similes, metaphors and allegorical presentations, is remarkably polished and refined. The descriptive contents, English translation and Thai translation have immensely increased the value of the present volume. The illustrations based on the Thai line of narration render the book artistically attractive and exquisite.

Undoubtedly the *Mahākāvya* is unique modern Sanskrit composition which is borad-based as it covers the salient features and characteristics of two peoples of a similar ancient culture. It should be seen as a bold attempt at inter-cultural understanding, causing a closer comprehension of a unitary spiritual under-current binding two countries and peoples of common thought-paradigms and world-view. It is hoped such unique literary adventure for amity and brotherhood of various nations and cultures, will inspire visionary doctors of literature and to achieve ever greater and wider perception of the commonality of aspirations of human soul.

The author deserves unqualified compliments and appreciation from connoisseurs from the world over for this uncommon epoch-making gem of poem.

Prescribing some portions of the poem for higher classes in colleges and universities may enable the students to grasp the inter-disciplinary and inter-cultural trends in modern education apart from grammatical, linguistic and aesthetic training.

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'*Alakanandā*' (a collection of Sanskrit Poems) by Harshdev M. Jani, 'Madhav,' Pubd. by Parshva Prakashan, Ahmedabad, First Edition, 1990. Price Rs. 20/-

(I) It is a matter of great pleasure to give warm welcome to this recent second collection of modern Sanskrit Poems. It contains thirty poems with readable and poetical Gujarati translation, which is presented just on the page opposite to the original Sanskrit text. As the 'Index' shows, the variety of subjects is wide. They range from loneliness to love without separation, desert to ocean & ghost to god. The other topics are: delay, pair of spectacles, hand, feet, lip, sand, stone, window, terrorism, city, etc.

(II) Alakanandā is the imaginary beloved of the poet, whom he addresses from the very first line of the first poem—'त्वमेव' (p-6). In about twelve poems Shri Madhav goes on addressing Alakanandā for giving vent to his feelings.

In 'त्वमेव' (p-6) he is eager to find proper words that can express his feelings effectively. But he confesses that the language is insufficient for expressing his sorrow and suffering. ('लिखितुमस्ति अस्फुटभावा वाक्।') (p-6). He declares अलकनन्दा to be his all in all (अस्तित्वतले p-8). In 'पुनर्जीवनं दातुम्' (p-10), the poet requests अलकनन्दा to restore him life. The monoimage gradually takes shape before our eyes. His allusion to Keats' 'Isabela,' 'An-al-haq' of Mansur and Bāṇa's Kādambarī, speaks volumes for the all-encompassing imagination of the poet. His soaring imagination gives contrast between the poet and his beloved in 'त्वयि' (p-12) as it is found between a volcano & water (river), Julius Caesar's ambition to conquer and Cleopatra's enchanting beauty, etc. But his fondness for alluding to so many literary events and things from various fields becomes heavily laden with information which proves as a hindrance to enjoy the poetic beauty as it happens in 'तव नाम' (p-16). But it ought to be said in favour of the poet that these are some of the absurd ways of creating monoimages adopted by modern poets. Various scientific instruments and inventions like radio, computer, telescope, etc. are utilized by the poet in 'एकाकिनः शून्याकाशम्' (p-18). The aching void experienced by a lonely person is a matter of sentiments which is beyond the reach of all such scientific instruments which lack in sensitiveness of a human heart. The loneliness spreading between the poet and his lady-love अलकनन्दा is described as जम्बूवर्णा (blue-black in colour like a Jambu). Again he regards loneliness as a स्पर्शमणि which fulfils all desires (p-24 'एकान्तम्').

In 'विलम्बः' (p-28) the first half depicts the adverse effects of delay. He says that the fall of rain is of no use after the crop has failed. In the later half the situation changes and the poet questions his lady-love why she knocks at the door which he has closed after waiting for her. The end thus becomes appealing and effective as a natural poetic culmination.

(III) The poem 'मम घोषवती वीणा' (p-42) alludes to the Ghoṣavatī in the स्वप्नवासवदत्तम् and प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायणम् of Bhāsa. The poet finds the whole body of his beloved as full of music in the form of various ornaments like the cooing of cuckoo, resounding of peacock, crackling of swan, etc. He is eager to send one ornament in the form of musical note in his loveletter. But, lo, his घोषवती वीणा is silent. This is a typical way of creating a mono-image of musical notes adoring the matchless beauty of his beloved,

In 'प्रेषय' (p-44), a really appealing poem, the sharp contrast between the poet and his beloved is harped on in each line. Some of these examples are :

कामिनीपुष्पम् and पाण्डुरपर्णम्, सुगन्धजलधि: and अश्रुबिन्दु, कोकिलकूजितम् and चक्रवाकचीत्कार : and so on.

(IV) In 'रणम्' (pp-54-56) the poet depicts the desert, the camel and things connected with them The picture of the camel with postal imagery is really appealing, e.g.

रणस्य पत्रवेष्टनोपरि (Envelope)
उष्ट्रस्य चिटिका (Stamp)
मृगतृषः संकेतः (Address) (p. 54)

His poetic vision finds out a rain-bow of seven colours even in desert.

श्वेता मृगतृषा,
रक्तः सूर्यातपः,
श्यामकर्बुरा उष्ट्राः,
पीताः क्षितिजाः,
हरिताः थुवराः,
कज्जलश्यामा उष्ट्रच्छायाः
नीलो मेघखण्डः,
रणेऽपि सप्तवर्णं इन्द्रधनुः । (pp. 54-56)

Even the dry sand becomes full of poetic flavour at the hands of Shri Madhav in 'सिकताः'. (p-60).

Similarly the poet makes even the stone full of life in 'पाषाणः' (p-62). He personifies the stone as slumbering कुंभकर्ण who does not wake inspite of summit conferences, etc.

In 'आतंकवादः' (p-64), terrorism is depicted quite convincingly from a human approach.

(V) The imagery of the feet in 'पादौ' (p-66), is lively—

स्वच्छायाशकटं कर्षतः
पदबलीवर्दौ
घटिकायन्त्रकण्टकौ भूत्वा
चलतः
मम चरणौ ॥ (p. 66)

In 'वातायनम्' (p-68) the philosophical picture is presented in a praiseworthy manner—

वातायनाभ्यन्तरे - अहम् , त्वम् , वयम् , इत्यादि
सर्वम् ।
वातायनस्य बहिर्विश्वम् ।
ईश्वरो वातायनस्य बहिर्वा अन्तर्वा इति विमृशन्
स्थितः आत्मा वातायनरूपेण
नान्तः, न बहिः । (p. 68)

Similarly in ‘ नगरम् ’ (pp-74-76) the description is called फतिहा, a muslim prayer for the dead. This speaks volumes for the imaginative and poetic insight of Shri Harshadev.

(IV) The poet is very much possessed by the ideas of ‘ Death. ’ His imagination works wonders when he says—

मृत्युना प्रसारितः करः
अथ च
श्वासाः पलायिताः । (p. 78)

The attitude of different persons towards ‘ Death ’ is depicted in a novel way—

मृत्युः वर्षासमयोऽस्ति ।
कोऽपि तं कांक्षते चातकवत् ।
कोऽपि शुष्कक्षेत्रवत् कामयते तम् ।
कोऽपि जुगुप्सते तस्मात् शूकरवत् । etc. (p. 80)

(VII) Thus Shri Madhav has depicted various mono-images which proves to be a novel attempt at introducing in Sanskrit modern forms of poetry. He deserves our heartiest congratulations and unreserved praise for his successful effort.

We hope that all who love and live for Sanskrit will extend their full encouragement by giving place to this ‘ अलकनन्दा ’ in their libraries.

There are several ‘ Printer’s devils ’ and some grammatical errors which we hope will be removed and corrected in the second edition. The author has specially thanked the owner of Parshva Prakashan and expressed his respectful bows to modern Sanskrit poets and others.

(VIII) The overall impression gathered from this collection of modern Sanskrit poems is very much encouraging. So we hope that many more such collections will be coming from the pen of Shri Harshadev Madhav and his efforts to place Sanskrit on the same footing with modern poems in English and other languages of the world will surely be successful.

I sincerely request all lovers of Sanskrit to encourage Shri Madhav in all possible ways.

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Vilāpapañcikā (*A Pentalogue of Lamentation*) by Dipak Ghosh, First Edition, published by the author. Distributor: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 38 Bidhan Sarani, Calcutta, pp. xxx + 39. Price Rs. 10/-,

The twentieth century has witnessed creative activities in various branches of Sanskrit literature belying the general belief ; " Sanskrit is a dead language." It is significant to note here that the National Sahitya Akadami, New Delhi, declares annual awards for the best composition in Sanskrit language, as it does for other languages in India.

The *Vilāpapañcikā* "(*A Pentalogue* of Lamentation ") is a collection of modern Sanskrit lyrics by Dr. Dipak Ghosh, Reader in the Department of Sanskrit, University of Calcutta, Calcutta. " There are several unpublished Sanskrit verses too lying unpublished in his desk to see the light of the day in near future." He has rendered in Sanskrit " some selected Tagore-songs with musical notes ". Dr. Ghosh is a poet who is known " for his lucid but florid style of Sanskrit composition in modern times ". (*ibid.*, p. xv).

The book has a " Foreward " (pp. ix-xiii) by Professor Dr. Satyavrat Shastri and an " Introduction " (" A Modern Sanskrit Lyric ") by Professor Dr Satya Ranjan Banerjee (pp. xv-xxx).

As the title suggests, the booklet under review contains five *vilāpas* (lamentations), which are as follows :—

(1) *Megha-vilāpam* (pp. 2-9; 13 stanzas)
(2) *Sura-vāg-vilāpam* (pp. 10-19; 32 stanzas)
(3) *Amara-vilāpam* (pp. 20-25; 14 stanzas)
(4) *Ujjayinī-vilāpam* (pp. 26-27; 3 stanzas)
(5) *Alakā-vilāpam* (pp. 28-35; 26 stanzas),

The text of the *vilāpas* is accompanied with an English prose-translation by Dr. Joydev Ganguly Shastri; it would have been better if the translation had been metrical.

The translation is given, perhaps, with a view and a hope that non-Sanskrit students and readers of comparative and modern literature can enjoy this work. At the end there is an " alphabetical index of Sanskrit verses ". (pp. 37 39).

It may be noted that the *vilāpas*—Nos. 1, 4 and 5 are published earlier (*vide ibid.*, pp. xxi ff.).

The famous *Meghadūtam* of Kālīdāsa inspires the poet to compose the *Meghavilāpam* (*vide ibid* , stanza no. 1). The splendour and the richness of the Yakṣa's mansion inspires the poet to contrast his dilapidated house to find it " like a cremation-ground " (*ibid.*, stanza 9) after the rains have lasted. The poem presents a pathetic picture It is a " beautiful word-picture of a poor man given to a life of want.. as is generally the case of one belonging to the lower middle class family in India... The poem is one of the most effective of the socio-economic studies that have appeared in recent times," (*ibid.*, p. x). It mirrors in most poignant words the most condemned and unhappy life of a have-not in modern times.

The *Sura-vāg-vilāpam* deals with " the sorry state of affairs with Sanskrit in Bengal " (*ibid.*, p. x). One is struck with agony afresh, when one casts a glance at the state of Sanskrit in other states.

The *Amara-vilāpam* has " for its theme the love-story of the singer-couple of the medieval ages of Bajbahadur Khan and Rūpamatī of the Mandu-fort near Ujjayinī " (*ibid.*, p xi). The *Ujjayinī-vilāpam*, the shortest of the *vilāpas* in this collection, is a tragic picture of Ujjayinī, " The old Ujjayinī is gone and what stands in its place is only its pale shadow " (*ibid.*, p. xii). It ends with a significant *arthāntaranyāsa*: " *svapnapriyaṁ vastu kadāpi loke nānveṣaṇīyaṁ pariśeṣa śokataḥ* /3/ i.e. " the thing endeared in dream should never be searched for in reality, as it leads to lamentation in the long run " (*ibid.*, p. 27).

In the last *vilāpa*, *viz*. *Alakā-vilāpam* the Yakṣa returns home after the expiry of the curse-period to meet his wife and " calls out to the Yakṣī again and again but meets with no response " (*ibid.*, p. xiii) and ultimately with his heart broken he leaves Alakā for ever with the reflection that the house is deserted by his wife Ramā and then it has become an able of *piśācas*. (stanza 26) ". " The poem is appropriately composed in the *viyoginī*-metre " (*ibid.*, p. xiii) " converted into *samavṛtta* " (*ibid.*, p. 29).

The present work " is couched in an impecable expression " (*ibid.*, p. xiii). It may be said that the " *Amaravilāpa* is a romantic lyric, *Megha-vilāpa* and *Sura-vāg-vilāpa* are realistic and *Ujjayinī-vilāpa* and *Alakā-vilāpa* are romantico-realistic) (*ibid.*, p. xxix).

In the " Foreword ". Professor Dr. Satyavrat Shastri gives a nice poemwise poetico-critical appreciation of the poems in this collection. It is an appreciation of a poet by a poet. In the " Introduction " Professor Dr. Banerjee writes on the literary style of the author, connects the vocable *pañcikā* in expression *vilāpa-pañcikā* with vocable *pañjikā*, gives the history of the lyric poetry in the West, while appreciating the poems in the collection in the comparative light of William Wordsworth, Robert Browning and others. He adds a note on the versification in these poems and the author's experiment on the *viyoginī*-metre.

Dr. Ghosh uses " the direct, unassuming language of the common man, but yet unites it with philosophical insight, sensuous response and courtly graciousness " (*ibid.*, p. xxx):

In fine, it may be said that this collection which is " in a simple style, rich in ideas, lofty in sense and lavish in vocabulary " (*ibid* p. xxx), is a welcome addition to the growing modern Sanskrit literature.

The poet-author deserves congratulations for this collection of nice poems and let us hope to have many more graceful and dignified works f om the poetic pen of the author in the years to come.

Vadodara

S. G. KANTAWALA

The Hindi Oral Epic Lorikayan (The Tale of Lorik and Chanda) by Shyam Manohar Pandey, Published by Sahitya Bhawan Private Limited, Allahabad, First Edition-1987. Pages—i-iii+1-74+1-613, Price Rs. 200/-

Oral epics in Hindi literary traditions are sparsely recorded. Infact oral epics were, for a long time, considered as existing at the fringe of the main stream of literary traditions. Dr. Pandey's efforts at recording and publishing Lorik-Chanda story in its major variant forms, thus deserve great commendation. In the Oral transmission of such stories, the content is often compromised for the sake of retaining the peculiar flavour of their form. The job of recording and giving a printed character to the oral epics is thus painstaking effort. *Lorikayan* is a praise worthy attempt in that, it is a faithful transformation of the recorded version into the written word.

Eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh as also the contiguous belt of Bihar are particularly rich in oral epics. *Alha-Udal*, particularly in western U.P., is another extremely popular case in point. These epics, besides being important pieces of literary-traditions, provide us with a rich tapestry of social-fabric, something which is otherwise difficult to obtain e g. social mores, mental attitudes and the ethos of the time. *Lorik-Chanda* story is essentially a tale of the romance of the folk-hero Lorik with Chanda, the beautiful daughter of a leader of the same caste-group. But in one of the more famous literary transformations of this oral epic-*Chandayan*—by Maulana Daud (1379 A.D.) this element of romance has been given an allegorical treatment penning down. *Lorikayan*, thus provides. probably, for the first time, a pure narrative form diverted of this allegory—a direct statement on the social order.

It is thus important that Chanda, the epitome of divine love in the literary form is shorn of this pristine character in the oral rendering of the story. She is even called a prostitute for having deserted her husband. It is these connocuous. common place comments, that best reflect the essence of social order and are of real worth for having been stated rather blandly.

Lorikayan is long winding story that revolves mainly around a binary image of the folk-hero Lorik, that of a warrior and of a romantic. It is, in this context, a matter of some significance that Lorik relates to women more than one in number. Since the present form of the epic has been recorded at a place which relates directly to Lorik's wife Manjari, it is natural to find landatory references for her in the story. In this respect Manjari may even be treated as the principal woman character. However, this main story then branches off at regular intervals and accounts for several other characters supporting or at times acting in villaing vis-a-vis Lorik. It is here that the social attitudes become most illustrative. There were made several attempts to transform the legend into a literary text, but in each case only a small portion of the entire epic was chosen as the central theme of the text. Dr. Pandey's effort will be called a momentous effort in presenting all the different versions of the entire epic into the printed form and when completed, all the ten volumes will make the core of all future work on literary traditions.

It is of significant importance that different versions of Lorika-Chanda epic collected by Dr. Pandey come from a regional Hindi belt where dialects in vogue are distinct in character. This will serve a case for a formidable linguistic analysis within the same language region. The *Bhojpurī* dialect of *Lorikayan* interspersed with *Awadhī* is in itself a case for a comprehensive study of the admixture of two dialects from contiguous regions.

Finally a word about the element of history in this oral epic. *Lorikayan* clearly establishes the popularity of the legend of Rama in the Sarayu-Gaṅgā basin, well before the advent of Tulasidas'—"*Rāmacaritamānasa* " as early as in the fourteenth century. So we hear of the folk-singers reciting Rama legend in the streets of the city of Gaura where Chanda was born. Again there is a reference to an invitation to Bhagel kings of the west who were adept in the art of making and effectively employing in wars small cannons called " Tupkis ". It is recorded in '*Akbarnama*' that the musketeers in Akbar's army mainly come from the same region. Probably " Tupki " was the local name for the muskets described in '*Akbarnama*'.

The quality of this volume i.e., *Lorikayan* is reassuring. It is therefore a matter of great satisfaction that a project of such gigantic proportions is in competent hands.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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લેખકોને :

૧ પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ નકલમાં ટાઈપકામની ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગુજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨ લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ પૃષ્ઠ, એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩ ‘સ્વાધ્યાય’માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી. વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખક અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહી.

૪ સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫ પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **રામકૃષ્ણ તુ. વ્યાસ**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

લવાજમ :

—ભારતમાં...રૂા. ૨૦=૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—પરદેશમાં...યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે...૬ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે...પૌં. ૨.૫૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ નવેમ્બરથી ઑક્ટોબર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું—**નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨.**

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—

સંપાદક, ‘સ્વાધ્યાય’, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મંદિર, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

પ્રાચીન ગુર્જર ગ્રન્થમાલા

		રૂ. પૈ.
૧	**પ્રાચીન ફાગુ-સંગ્રહ**—સંપાદક: ડૉ. ભોગીલાલ જ. સાંડેસરા અને ડૉ. સોમાભાઈ પારેખ; દેવનાગરી ટાઈપ	૧૦=૫૦
	વિદ્યાર્થી આવૃત્તિ, ગુજરાતી ટાઈપ	૬=૫૦
૨	**વર્ણક-સમુચ્ચય, ભાગ ૧—મૂલ પાઠ—સં.**: ડૉ. ભો. જ. સાંડેસરા	૯=૫૦
૩	**ભાલણકૃત નલાખ્યાન** (ત્રીજી આવૃત્તિ)—સં.: પ્રો. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી	૧૧=૫૦
૪	**ઉદયભાનુકૃતવિક્રમચરિત્રરાસ**—સંપાદક: સ્વ. પ્રો. બ. ક. ઠાકોર	૨=૫૦
૫	**ભાલણ: એક અધ્યયન**—લેખક: પ્રો. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી (૧૯૭૧)	૮=૦૦
૬	**વર્ણક-સમુચ્ચય, ભાગ ૨**—સાંસ્કૃતિક અધ્યયન અને શબ્દસૂચિઓ. કર્તા: ડૉ. ભોગીલાલ જ. સાંડેસરા અને ડૉ. રમણલાલ ના. મહેતા	૧૮=૫૦
૭	**પંચાખ્યાન બાલાવબોધ, ભાગ ૧**—સંપાદક: ડૉ. ભોગીલાલ જ. સાંડેસરા અને ડૉ. સોમાભાઈ પારેખ	૨૪=૦૦
૮	**સિંહાસનબત્રીસી**—સં. ડૉ. રણજિત મો. પટેલ	૧૫=૫૦
૯	**હમ્મીરપ્રબન્ધ**—સં.: ડૉ. ભો. જ. સાંડેસરા અને ડૉ. સો. પારેખ	૬=૦૦
૧૦	**પંચદંડની વાર્તા**—સં. ડૉ. સોમાભાઈ ધૂ. પારેખ (૧૯૭૪)	૩૧=૦૦
૧૧	**વાગ્ભટાલંકાર બાલાવબોધ**—સં. ડૉ. ભોગીલાલ જ. સાંડેસરા	૧૨=૦૦

સ્વ. પ્રો. બ. ક. ઠાકોર ગ્રન્થમાળા

૧	વિવિધ વ્યાખ્યાનો ગુચ્છ ૧	૨=૫૦
૨	,, ,, ,, ૨	૨=૫૦
૩	,, ,, ,, ૩	૬=૫૦
૪	નિરુત્તમા	૨=૫૦
૫	વિક્રમોર્વશી—(અનુવાદ: મનનિકા સહિત)	૨=૫૦
૬	પ્રવેશકો, ગુચ્છ પહેલો	૪=૫૦
૭	પ્રવેશકો, ગુચ્છ બીજો	૩=૦૦
૮	અંબડ વિદ્યાધર રાસ	૪=૦૦
૯	મ્હારાં સૉનેટ (બીજી આવૃત્તિ: બીજું પુનર્મુદ્રણ)	૪=૦૦
૧૦	આપણી કવિતાસમૃદ્ધિ (બીજી આવૃત્તિ; છઠ્ઠું પુનર્મુદ્રણ)	૪=૦૦
૧૧	નવીન કવિતા વિષે વ્યાખ્યાનો (પ્રથમ આવૃત્તિ; પહેલું પુનર્મુદ્રણ)	૪=૦૦
૧૨	પ્રો. બ. ક. ઠાકોર ડાયરી, ભાગ ૧—સંપાદક: ડૉ. હર્ષદ મ. ત્રિવેદી	૮=૦૦
૧૩	પ્રો. બ. ક. ઠાકોર અધ્યયનગ્રન્થ	૧૫=૫૦
૧૪	પ્રો. બ. ક ઠાકોરની ડાયરી, ભાગ ૨—સંપાદક: ડૉ. હર્ષદ ત્રિવેદી	૬=૭૫
૧૫	વિવેચક—પ્રો. બલવન્તરાય ઠાકોર	૨૫=૦૦

પ્રાપ્તિસ્થાન: યુનિવર્સિટી પુસ્તકવેચાણ વિભાગ,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી પ્રેસ, રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે,
રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા-૩૯૦ ૦૦૧

101. Chesnutt, Michael. 1980 "The Grateful Animals and the Ungrateful Man." *Fabula* 21. 24-55.

A remarkably detailed discussion of the motif of the grateful animals (AT 160), found often in fabular form, from the Middle Ages through modern times. The motif and tale type is found, inter alia, in Gower's *Confessio amantis* and the *Gesta romanorum*. Chesnutt traces it from the *Kalila and Dimna* tradition to the *Novus Aesopus* of Baldo and the *Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen*. Concludes that the *Kalila and Dimna* contained the "Old Oriental" form of the motif which was translated into Greek and circulated in Southern Italy or Sicily perhaps in the 12th century. The Anglo-French versions all have a common source, perhaps *Kalila and Dimna* with Baldo.

102. Chitimia, Ion C. 1975a. "L'Evolution du types de la fable Esopique dans les littératures européennes." *Actes du VIe Congrés de l'Association Internationale de Littérature Comparēe. Ed, Michel Cadot, et. al. Stuttgart: Bieber* pp. 597-600.

Surprisingly simplistic survey of the Aesopic fable in Europe, from Antiquity to the 18th century, suggesting that the European forms were strongly influenced by the *Pañcatantra*, especially through the Arabic of the *Kalila wa-Dimna.* Only during the Renaissance did Europe return to the "Aesopic" forms, short and in prose.

103. Chitimia, Ion C. 1975b. "L'Evolution de la fable en tant que structure et art littéraires." *Zagadnienia Rodzajow Literackich* 15: 2, 29-35.

Superficial account of some of the changes that have occurred to the European fable, suggesting that the Indian fable mixed with the European forms as they increased in length and became more obtuse The Indian fable is demonstrated by examples from La Fontaine.

104 Christiansen, Arthur. 1925. *Motif et Thème: Plan d'un dictionaries des motifs de contes populaires de lègendes et de fables.* (= Folklore Fellows Communications, no. 59). Helsinki : Academia Scientiarum Fennica. 52 pp.

An early attempt to organize fabular motifs indexed by general theme (Temperance, Intelligence, Stupidity, etc.); more concerned with the embodiment of a certain trait than other features of content. Many of the entries are keyed to the *Pañcatantra* and the fables of La Fontaine.

105. Clark, Ismael. 1936. *La Fábula: Sus elementos históricos, literarios, sociales y populaires y mi intromisión en ella.* Dissertation ; Havana : Academia Nacional de Artes y letras.

Historical overview of the fable; suggests in the early section that the fable began in India, arriving in Greece through the medium of the Jātakas.

106. Coomaraswamy, Ananda. 1928. " Miniatures from Turkish and Persian Book of Fables. " *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts* 26, 89-91.

107. Cowell, E. B., Ed. 1973 (1895-1913). *The Jataka; or, the Stories of the Buddha's Former Births.* London: Pali Text Society and London, Boston: Routledge and Paul. 6 vols in 3; reprint of the 1895-1913 edition (Added note: " Translated from the Pali by various hands under the editorship of E. B. Cowell. ")

108. Cowen, Jill S. 1980. " The Istanbul University Kalila wa Dimna: An Ilkhanid Masterpiece. " Dissertation; New York University.

109. Dara'i, Amīr Khusraw. 1947. *Shakaristan.* Tehran.
A versified version of Khāshifī's Anwār-i Suhaylī.

110. Dawood, Ibrahim Abdullah S. 1983. " The *Panchatantra, Kalilah wa-Dimna,* and the *Morall Philosophie of Doni:* A Comparative Study. " Dissertation: Indiana University. 165 pp.

After a survey of the history of the *Pañcatantra,* Dawood discusses the Indian world view, with special attention paid to the values and beliefs as found in that world view and reflected in the *Pañcatantra,* so as to demonstrate the considerable change in its Islamic and Christian versions.

111. Dawson, Warren R. 1925 " The Mouse in Fable and Folklore. " *Folk-Lore* 36, 227-248.

Describes the Aesopic fable as Egyptian in origin on the evidence of P 130 " Stomach and Feet " (A–T 293) and P 150 " Lion and Mouse " (A–T 75). Deals with the mouse in the Bidpai fables as well as mice in Egyptian, Sumerian, Greek and medieval Latin literature.

112. Defourny, Michel. 1981. " Panchatantra et pensée brahmanique. " *Proceedings of the Third International Beast Epic, Fable and Fabliau Colloquium, Münster, 1979.* Ed. Jan Goossens and Timothy Sodmann. Köln: Böhlau.

Argues that the Indian fable (such as those in the *Pañcatantra,* the *Mahābhārata,* or the Jātakas), is deeply rooted in the animal reality of the land. Since animals are an integral part of Indian life and mythology and part of the cycle of reincarnation, they are an important element in the Brahmanistic world view. This article examines a number of fables, with special emphasis upon " Lion, Crow, Jackal and Camel " (Pan. 1, xii) which is indicative of Indian social hierarchy.

113. Defourny, Michel and J. Kellens. 1970. "Fables indiennes." "*Revue des Languages Vivantes/Tijdschrift voor Levende Talen* 36, 412-420.

As one needs to speak not only of the Aesopic, but also of the Indian fable, Defourney introduces his presentation of seven Indian fables with a short description of the *Mahābhārata* (the soure of two of the fables), the *Pañcatantra* (two fables), the *Hitopadeśa* (three fables) and their derivatives.

114. Derenbourg, Joseph. 1850. ***Fables de Loqman la sage.*** Berlin, London.

115. Derenbourg, Joseph. 1881. *Deux versions hébraiques du livre de Kalilāh et Dimnāh: la premiére accompagnée d'une traduction francaise.* (=Bibliotheque de l Ecole des hautes Etudes, fasc. 49). Paris : F. Vieweg.

An edition of the Rabbi Jō'el Hebrew translation (ca. 1100) of Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic *Kalila wa-Dimna* together with the Hebrew translation by Jacoḅ b. Elazar dating from the thirteenth century. The Rabbi Jō'el version is known from a unique manuscript, quite corrupt at the beginning, but is based upon an important Arabic manuscript. The Jacob ben Elazar translation is based upon materials similar to the Jō'el text, but is much freer, with the addition of biblical phrases throughout. The Rabbi jō'el text was translated by John of Capua ca 1270 as the *Directorium vitae Humanae*, also edited by Derenbourg (see next entry).

116. Derenbourg, Joseph, ed. 1887 and 1889. *Johannis de Capua : Directorium vitae humanae; alias Parabola antiquorum sapientum version latine du livre de Kalilah et Dimna.* (=Bibliotheque de Il'E'cole des Hautes E'tudes, Sciences philologiques et historiques, fasc. 72). 2 volumes in 1. Paris: F. Vreweg. xix+375 pp.

117. Desai, Z. A. 1978. " The Identity and Time of the Patron of the Persian translator of the *Hitopadesha*." ***Indo-Iranica*** 31 1-2, 102-111.

118. Dietrich, Günter. 19 7. *Syntaktisches zu Kalila wa Dimna : Beiträge zur arabisch-spanischen Übersetzungskunst.* Dissertation: Berlin.

119. Von Diez, Heinrich Friedrich. 1811. *Über Inhalt, Entstehung und Schicksale des königlichen Buches, eines Werks von der egierungskunst. . . .aus dem türkisch-persisch-arabischen des Wassi alv Dschelebi.* Berlin. 3+214 pp.

An edition with introduction of the *Humāyūnāma*, one of the Turkisch versions of the Anwār-i-Suhailī.

120 Al-Dir, Muhammad Khayr. 1963. *Kalilah wa Dimnah.* n.p 360 pp.

121. Djamil, Ismail. 1948. [second edition: 1950]. *Hikajat Kalila dan Daminah Diterjamahkan dari karangan 'Abdoellah Ibnel Moeqaffa*. Jakarta: Balai Poestaka.

122. Doshi, Sareyu. 1980. "The Fable of King Yoshodhara." *Illustrated Weekly of India* [Bombay: The Times of India Press], 101 : 12 [23 Mar '80], 24-27.

123. Duggal, Narindar Singh, and Dewa Raja Sherama. trans. 1963. *Pañcatantra*. n.p.

Translation into Punjabi

124. Dumast, Augst Prosper Francois, Baron. 1857. *Le Derviche, le milan et le petit corbeau*. Nancy: N. Vatner. x + 266 pp.

125. Dutoik, J. 1908-1921. *Jatakam, aus dem Pali ubersetzt*. 3 vols in 2. Leipzig.

126. Dutton, Maude Barrows. 1908. *The Tortoise and the Geese and Other Fables of Bidpai*. Boston and New York : Houghton Mifflin. xiii + 124 pp.

127. Duval. Rubens. 1888. "Jean de Capoue, version latine de Kaliah et Dimnah p. J. Derenbourg." *Revuew Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* 25, 101-102.

128. Eastwick, Edward Backhouse. 1854. (Reissued, 1914). *The Anvār-i Suhailī; or the Lights of Canopus; being the Persian Version of the Fables of Bidpai; or the Book of Kalilah and Dimnah, Rendered into Persian by Husain Vā'iz u'l-Kāshifi literally translated*. Allahabad. xxiv + 650 pp. and Hertford: Stephen Austin. xxvii + 651 pp.

129. Eastwick, Edward Backhouse. 1857. *Khirad-afroz: A New Edition of the Hindustani Text*. Hertford : Austin.

130. Eastwick, Edward Backhouse. 1961. *The Khirud-ufroz: Translated from the Urdu into English and followed by a Vocabulary of Difficult words and Phrases. . .* by Thomas Philip Manuel.

131. Edgerton, Franklin. 1924 (Reprint vol 2, 1965). *The Pañcatantra Reconstructed : An Attempt to Establish the Lost Sanskrit Text of the Most Famous of Indian Story-Collections on the Basis of the Principal of Extant Versions*. 2 vols. (= American Oriental Society Series, nos. 2 and 3.) New Haven, CT. : American Oriental Society.

Volume one contains a reconstructed Sanskrit text with full apparatus. Volume two is an historical discussion of the text and literary tradition of the *Pañcatantra* in its four strands : (1) the *Tantrākhyāyikā* and its descendants, (2) the so-called *Southern Panchatantra* including the

Hitopadeśa, (3) the Bhrathatha versions and (4) the Pahlavi versions. Volume 2 also contains an extensive explanation of Edgerton's methodology and a complete translation of the Sanskrit text. Reprint of vol 2 (London : Allen and Unwin). 151 pp. with minor alterations.

132. Edgerton, Franklin. 1927. *The Pañcatantra I· The Text in its Oldest Form.* Edited with an Introduction by Franklin Edgerton. Poona : Oriental Book Agency. 9 + 47 pp.

133. Edgerton, Franklin. 1930. *The Pañcatantra I-V: The Text in its Oldest Form.* Poona : Oriental Book Agency.

134. Edgerton, Franklin. 1939. " On the Takkāriya. " *JAOS* 59.

135. Elmaleh, Abraham. 1926 (second edition : 1927, latest : 1950.). *Sippure Kalilah we-Dimnah.* Tel Aviv : Devir.

136. Ethé, Hermann. 1883. " On Some Hitherto Unknown Turkish Versions of Kalila and Dimna. " *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes.* Leiden. 2nd parte, section 1-a, pp. 239-255.

Among much else, the discovery that there are at least five Turkish versions of the Bidpai version of Nasrullah, *Kalilah wa-Diman*; these preceded the Humāyūnāma by some two hundred years Describes Bod. Lib. Marsh. 180 and Marsh 61.

137. Falk. Harry. 1978. *Quellen des Panchatantra.* (= Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, no. 12.) Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz. 203 pp.

Presents a comparative study of various fables from the *Pañcatantra* to parallel narratives from other works, especially the Jātakas and the *Mahābhārata.* Folk discovers that the comparative structure of these provides new meaning, often at odds with surface interpretations, and suggests that the Jātaka tales, where these are similar to the *Pañcatantra*, might well be the younger of the two, without, however implying that the creators of the Jātakaṣ used a version of the *Pancatantra.* The Gāthās on the other hand are older.

138. Fausböll, Michael Viggo, Ed. 1977 [reprint of 1880 edition]. *Buddhist Birth Stories.* Thomas William Rhys Davids, trans. New York : Arno. ciii + 347 pp.

139. Feer, M. L. 1963. *A Study of the Jatakas.* Calcutta.

140. Finot, L. 1917. " Contes. " *Bulletin d'école francaise d'extrème-'orient* 17 ; 5, 84–113.

Description of the contents of the Lao version of the *Pañcatantra.*

141. Fischel, Lilli. 1963. "Buch der Beispiele." *Bilderfolgen im frühen Buchdruck : Studien zur Inkunabel-IUIlustration in Ulm und Strassburg.* Konstanz / Stuttgart.

142. Ford, Aubrey Jerome. 1977 "The Art of Translation : A Comparison of John of Capua's 'Directorium vitae humanae' and Anton von Pforr's "Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen." Dissertation ; Tulane.

143. Fradejas, José. 1978. "Varias versiones mās de la fābula de le lechera." *Cuadernos para Investigatión de la Litera Hispanica* 1, 21-30.

Traces more versions of the "Milkmaid with the Pot of Milk" from Indian origins through various works of Spanish literature.

144 Francis, H. T. and E. J. Thomas. 1916. *Jātaka Tales.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

145. Frere, M. 1881 (reprint 1967). *Hindoo Fairy Legends* (*Old Deccan Days*). New York.

Despite the title, contains a number of true fables, many not otherwise available.

146. Fritze, Ludwig. 1884. *Pantschatantra, ein altes indisches Lehrbuch der Lebensklugheit in Erzählungen und Sprüchen.* Leipzig. xi + 405 pp.

147. Gabrieli, F. 1978. "Ibn al-Mukaffa'." *The Encyclopedia of Islam.* 3, 883-885.

Copious notes to the person and career of Ibn al-Muqaffa, the translator and compiler of the *Pañcatantra* in its Arabic form, the *Kalila wa-Dimna.* Ibn al-Muqaffa translated a Pahlavi intermediary work, providing an important link in the migration of the Indian fables westward.

148. Gaer, Joseph. 1955. *The Fables of India.* Boston : Little, Brown.

149. Galley, Claude. 1981. "Rōle éthique et esthetique des animaux dans le Calila e Digna espagnol de Alphonse le Sage." *Epopée, animale fable, fabliau.* Ed. Gabriel Bianciotto et al. Paris : PU de France. 724. pp. 227-234.

150. Gangoly, O. C. 1931. "An Illustrated Manuscript of Anwār-i-Suhaylī." *Rupam* 42/44.

Publishes a mid-fourteenth century manuscript in the library of the Nawab of Rampur, with reproduction of six miniatures from the manuscript.

151. Garcia de Solalinde, A. 1917. *Calila y Dimna. Fābulas. Antiqua versión castellana.* Madrid.

152. Garrett, John. 1865. *The Panchatantra or Panchopākhyāna : Five Collections of Stories.* Banglore : Mysore Government Press. lii + 225 pp.

153. Gayangos y Arce, Pascual de. 1860. " Del Libro de Calila y Dymna, y sus diferentes versiones. " *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* 51, 1-78

The introduction (1-10) is a detailed general survey of the *Pañcatantra. Hitopadeśa* and the *Kalila wa-Dimna* forms in Europe, through the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

154. Gehlhar, James Norman 1977. " A Stylistic Analysis of the Development of Literary Persian and Turkish as Seen in Versions of *Kalila wa-Dimna,* the fables of Bidpai. " Dissertation : University of Edinburgh. 452 pp.

A comparative study of stylistic elements in four Persian and four Turkish prose versions of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* in order to define the influence of the Persian versions upon the Turkish. An edition of a hitherto unknown Persian translation is appended; the oldest known *Kalila wa-Dimna* version in any Islamic language including Arabic.

155. Geib. Ruprecht. 1969. *Zur Frage nach der Urfassung des Pañcatantra.* (Dissertation) (= Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, 2) Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz. ix + 196 pp.

156. Geissler, Friedmar. 1954. " Das Pañcatantra, ein altindisches ' Fabelbuch '. " *Wissenschaftliche Annalen* 3.

Offers a table of derivatives from the *Pañcatantra,* through the Persian versions to the printed translations of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

157. Geissler, Friedmar. 1960. *Beispiele der alten Weisen : Des Johann von Capua Übersetzung der hebräischen Bearbeitung des indischen Pancatantra ins Lateinische.* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichung, no. 52.) Berlin.

158. Geissler, Friedmar. 1962. " Die islandischen Handschriften des Buches der Beispiele der alten Weisen. " *Fabula* 5, 15-17.

Suggest reasons for identifying the 1570 Anton von Pforr edition as the source of the Icelandic translation, and provides an overview of the textual history of the Icelandic manuscript.

159. Geissler, Friedmar. 1963. " Handschriften und Drucke des Directorium vitae humanae ' und des Buches der Beispiele der alten Weisen '. " *Mitteilungen des Institutes für Orientforschung* 9, 433-461.

160 Geissler, Friedmar. 1964a "Anton von Pforr : der Übersetzer des 'Buch der Beispiele' : Urkundliche Belege zum Lebensweg des Humanisten am Hof der Erzherzogin Mechthild zu Rottenburg." *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschicht*· 23, 141-156.

161. Geissler, Friedmar. 1964b. *Anton von Pforr : Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen, kritisch hg. nach der Strassburger Handschrift, mit dem Lesartern aller bekannten Handschriften und Drucke des 15. und des 16. Jahrhunderts.* 2 parts. Berlin [DDR] : Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin : Institut für Orientalforschung, veröffentlichung no. 61.

162. Geissler, Friedmar. 1965a. "Das Pañchatantra und seine Mitteleuropäischen Fassungen." *Laographia* 22 [*= IV International Congress for Folk Narrative Research, Athens*], 117-125.

Detailed references to the many derivatives of Anton von Pforr's *Buch der Beispiele* and its influence especially that of the Anwār-i Suhaili in the seventeenth century, with an excursis on the Greek *Pañcatantra* versions : the Simon Seth's Greek *Stephanites kai Ichnelates.*

163. Geissler, Friedmar. 1965b. "Die Inkunabeln des Directorium vitae humanae." *Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde*, 3rd series 1, 7-47.

Discusses in precise detail a number of incunabula of different versions of various European language texts.

164. Geissler, Friedmar. 1968. "Die Drucke des 'Buches der Beispiele der Alten Weisen' : (Copinger 1360, Hain 4028-4033 und spätere Drucke." *Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde* 3rd series, 3, 18-45.

On incunabula and later printed versions of Anton von Pforr's German translation of the *Directorium vitae humanae* (ca. 1740). Presents the printing history of a number of different versions.

165. Geissler. Friedmar 1969. "Anton von Pforr, ein zu Unrecht vergessener Vermittler eines beliebten Volkserzählstoffes." *Mezdunarodnyj kongress antropologiseskix i ètnograficeskix nauk, Moskva, 3-10 avgusta 1964 g. Tom VII* Moscow : Nauka. pp. 376-379.

166. Geissler, Friedmar. 1974. *Anton von Pforr Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen. Teil II.* Berlin : Akademie Verlag. viii + 452 pp.

167. Gerdes, Udo. 1982. "Antonius von Pforr." *Verfasserlexikon.* I, 402-405.

168. Ghazoul, Ferial. 1983. "Poetic Logic in the *Panchatantra* and the *Arabian Nights.*" *Arab Studies Quarterly* 5, 13-21.

169. Gödeke, Karl. 1862. "Zu Kalīlah und Dimna." *Orient und Occident* 1, 681-688.

170. Gödeke, Karl. 1866 "Liber de septem sapientibus." *Orient und Occident* 3, 177 ff.

171. Gonggrijp, Justus Rinia Petrus Francois. 1976. *Hikajat Kalilah dan Diminah als leseboek voor dan inlander bestemd.* (=Maleisch leesboek voor eerstbeginnenden en meergevorderden, vol. 7.) Leiden: G. Kolff.

The text of the Malay version of the *Kalilah wa Dimna* as reading selections in an elementary grammar of Malay.

172. Gonggrijp, Justus Rinia Petrus Francois. 1892. *Hikayat Kalilah dan Daminah tersalin dari pada noschat malajoe dengan titah Goupernemen Hindija Nederlanda.* Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 56+398 pp.

The *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*, the older Malay translation based upon al-Mukaffa's arabic version, together with a Tamil text of the *Pañcatantra.*

173. Gorekar, N. S. 1981. "Sanskrit Lore in Persian." *History of Persian Literature.* Ed. Yunus Jaffery. Delhi: Triveni. pp. 29-35.

174. Gray, Basil. 1933. "Die Kalila wa-Dimna Handschrift der Universität Istambul." *Pantheon* 4, 280-282.

Assigns the manuscript (Istanbul, University Library: no. 3818/1) to Tabriz, about 1350.

175. Gray, Basil. 1940. "Fourteenth-Century Illustrations of the *Kalilah and Dimnash.*" *Ars Islamica* 7, 134-140.

Uses seven manuscripts for a comparative study of the evolution of Mongol art into the Timurid style.

176. Grube, Ernst J. "Two Kalilah wa Dimnah Codices Made for Baysunghur Mirza: the Concept of the Classical Style' Reconsidered." *Atti del III Conveeno Internazionale sull'Arte e sulla Civiltā Islamica: Problemi dell'etā timuride.*" Venice: University of Venice. pp. 115-122.

177. Guidi, Ignazio, 1873. *Studii sul testo arabo del libro Calila e Dimna* Rome: Tipografia Befani. 100 + 61 pp.

178. Gupta, R. D. 1975. "Indian Parallels of the Fox Story." *Aspects of the Medieval Animal Epic. Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain, May 15-127, 1972.* Ed. E. Romauts. Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1975, 241-249.

Demonstrates that some Indian fables with jackals, mainly from the *Pañcatantra* and the Jātakas, have comparable elements with some

European fox fables. These latter fables show a gradual development of the cunning of fox. Parallels are also seen in the structure of the narratives.

179. Haberlandt, Michael. 1884. *Zur Geschichte des Pañctantra.* Vienna : C. Gerolds Sohn. 82 pp.

180. Haddan. Adnan. 1984. *Fables de La Fontaine d'origine orientale.* Paris : Societe d'edition d'enseignment superieur.

181. Halévy, J. 1913. " Mes dontes sur l'introduction de Burzoé au livre de Kalilah-wa Dimna. " *Revue sémitique* 21, 53-72.

182. Hale-Wortham, B. 1979 (reprint of 1905 edition). *Hitopadesa : or the Book of Good Counsel.* Calcutta : Sahkuntala Debi. 179 pp.

183. Hamdani, Ahmed. 1938. Some Rare Mss. in Istanbul. " *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1938,* 564 ff.

184. Haque, Abu Saeed Zaharal. 1969. " On the *Panchatantra.* " *Mississippi Folklore Register* 3: 3, 73-84.

A general introduction to the *Pañcatantra* with a cursory survey of the dating of the work, a description of the framing technique in the five books and paraphrases of a few tales.

185. Hausrath, August. 1909. " Fabel. " *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 12, cols. 1704-1736.

An extensive review of classical fable scholarship, in which (section four) originality of the Greek fable is discussed. Hausrath presents earlier arguments for the primacy of India and concludes that both traditions can lay claim to certain motifs.

186. Hermelin, Erik, trans. 1929. *Sagor ur ' Anwār-i-Suhaili '.* Stockholm 80 pp.

Translation of Husain Vā'iz Kāshifi's Persian version of the Bidpai fables.

187. Hertel, Johannes. 1902. " Die Erzählungen vom blauen Schackel in den Hamburger Pancatantra-Handschriften." *WZKM* 16, 269-274.

Contains a number of references to parallels to the " Blue Jackal " fable (*Pañcatantra.* bk 1), including Buddhist materials.

188. Hertel, Johannes. 1903a. " Eine vierte Jaina Rezension des Pancatantra." *ZDMG* 57, 39-704.

On a Jaina work by Meghavijaya with the title *Pañcākhyānoddhāraḥ.* Contains some fables not known in other recensions. Text with apparatus and notes.

189. Hertel, Johannes. 1903b, "Eine Fabel Ksemendras." *WZKM* 17, 343-350.

Kṣemendra Bṛh M xvi, 518 ff. contains a fable that is missing in all other versions of the *Pañcatantra* save that of Pūrṇabhadras. Hertel suggests a non-Panchatantric source, perhaps from Aesopica, P 39 "Wise Swallow."

190. Hertel, Johannes. 1904a. "Über das südliche Pañcatantra." *ZDMG* 58, 1ff.

191. Hertel, Johannes. 1904b. *Das südliche Panchatantra: Übersicht über den Inhalt der älteren 'Pancatantra.'* Leipzig: Brockhaus. 68 pp.

Comprehensive discussion of the processes involved in, and the results of, the recensions of the southern branch of the *Pañcatantra* the Nepalese version and the *Hitopadeśa*, both derived from the same source which was in many ways closer to the original received text. The frame and the secondary stories receive considerable attention.

192. Hertel, Johannes. 1904c. *Über das Tantrākhāyikā: Die kasmirische Rezension des Pancatantra.* Leipzig Teubner. 154 pp.

The text of the Decc. coll. VIII. 145 manuscript discovered by Hertel and edited in Hertel (1909) 1910, is here considered the oldest known version of the *Pañcatantra* and contains the original order as well as some of the phrasing of the author.

193 Hertel, Johannes. 1935. "Über eine zweite Rezension des Tantrākhyāyikā." *ZDMG* 59, 769 ff.

194. Hertel, Johannes, ed. 1906a. *Das südliche Pancatantra: Sanskrit text der Recension B mit den Lesarten der besten Hss. der Recension A.* (recension of the *Pañcatantra* of Viṣṇuśarmā) *Abhandlungen der philo.-hist. Klasse der königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 24: 5. Leipzig.

Hertel describes the manuscripts used in the edition as belonging to either the A or the B recension, with the A recension declared the best and the most original. However Hertel prints the B recension as his "main" text, relegating the A-readings to the apparatus criticus, because the A manuscripts are in such poor condition as to make anything like a complete reading impossible.

See Heinrich Blatt 1930 for a re-edited version with new readings.

195. Hertel, Johannes. 1906b. "Mēghavijayas Auszug aus dem Pancatantra." *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Völkerkunde* 16, 249-278.

196. Hertel, Johannes. 1906c. "Zu Kalila wa-Dimna." *WZKM* 20, 184-207.

197. Hertel, Johannes. 1906d and 1907. "Über einen südlichen *textus amplior* des Pañcatantra." *ZDMG* 60, 769-801 (Part I) and 61 (1907), 18-72, (Part II).

The van Mankowski ms of the Southern *Pañcatantra* in German with running critical apparatus and extensive annotations.

198. Hertel, Johannes ed. 1908a. *The Pañcatantra : A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales, in the Recension, called Pañchākhyānaka and dated 1199 A.D., of the Jaina Monk, Pūrṇabhadra : Critcally edited in the Original Sanskrit.* Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press. (Harvard Oriental Series, no. 11). xlviii+298 pp.

199. Hertel, Johannes. 1908b. "Von Panini zu Phaedrus." *ZDMG* 62. 113-118.

P294 "Crane and Peacock" and P101 "Jackdaw in Borrowed Feathers" as Babrius 65 and 72; and P509 "Peacock Complains to Juno about his Voice" in Phaedrus III, 18, are all discussed with their Indian parallels.

200 Hertel, Johannes. 1908c. "Le Mullatantra et le Pañcatantra" pp. 397-434, in Brengues 1908 (q.v. above).

201. Hertel, Johannes. [1909] 1910. *Tantrākhāyikā: Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra: Nach den Handschriften beider Rezensionen zum ersten Male herausgegeben.* (—Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. N. S. no. 12 : 2). Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. Reprint: Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970. xxvii+186 pp.

202. Hertel, Johannes. 1912a. *The Panchatantra-text of Pūrnabhadra and its Relation to Texts of Allied Recensions as Shown in Parallel Specimens.* (Harvard Oriental Series, no. 13). Cambridge, Mass. ; Harvard University Press. x + 38 pp.

203. Hertel, Johannes. 1912b. "Altindische Parallen zu Babrius 32," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1912*, 244-252.

P50 "Weasel and Aphrodite" (Babrius 32) is discussed together with Indian materials, suggesting possible sources.

204. Hertel, Johannes 1913. "Indologische Analecta." *ZDMG* 67. 609-629.

Deals with several problems arising in reaction to his *Tantrākhyāyikā* edition (see Hertel [1009] 1910].

205. Hertel, Johannes. 1914a. "Indologische Analecta." *ZDMG* 68, 64-84.

206. Hertel, Johannes. 1914b. *Das Pancatantra : Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung.* Leipzig : Teubner. 460 pp.

Identifies two mainstreams of *Pañcatantra* tradition : the Kashmiri *Tanatrākhāyikā* and " K, " the archetype of all known versions. There are various intermediate steps, most notably the archetypical " N-W " responsible ultimately for the versions known as the *Hitopadeśa*, the Pahlavi recensions, and those dependent upon those versions. Great detail and well-illustrated with textual and literary stemmata. Little attention is paid to oral transmission, but well-argued literary relationships.

207. Hertel, Johannes. 1915a. Indologische Analecta. " *ZDMG* 69, 113-128.

208. Hertel, Johannes, ed. 1915b. *The Pañcatantra : A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in its Oldest Recension, the Kashmirian, entitled Tantrakhāyikā, the oldest Sanskrit text, editio minor.* Cambridge, Mss.: Harvard University Press. (= Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 14.) xv + 148 pp.

See Hertel 1910.

209. Hertel, Johannes. 1918. " Die *Akhlaq-e Hindi* und ihre Quellen. " *ZDMG* 72, 65-86; 74, 95-117; and 75, 129-100.

On the sources of the *Akhlaq-e hindi*, a Hindi translation of the Persian translation of the *Hitopadeśa*, the latter Sanskrit version of the *Pañcatantra*. The Persian version is a very free translation, from the Sanskrit and dates from the reign of Akbar. The Hindustani translation from the Persian was made by Mir Bahādur ' Ali Husaynī in 1802, and seems to have been unaffected by the Sanskrit versions—Textual criticism, sample texts, and variant readings.

210. Hertel, Johannes. 1923. *Pantschākyāna-Wārttika : Eine Sammlung volkstümlicher Märchen und Schwänke.* Leipzig : Haessel.

211. Hertel, Johannes. 1924. *The Panchatantra Reconstructed : An Attempt to Establish the Lost Original Sanskrit Text of the most Famous of Indian Story-Collections on the Basis of the Principal Extant Versions.* New Haven, Ct. : American Oriental Society.

212. Hervieux, Léopold. 1898. *Notice sur les Fables Latine d origine Indienne.* Paris : Didot. 78 pp.

A lengthy demonstration of the thesis that India is the cradle of the fable. The first section is concerned with John of Capua's *Directorium humanae vitae* as a " modification " of the *Pañcatantra* followed by a biography of John of Capua and an analysis of the *Directorium*. The fables are discussed in detail, followed by a history of the manuscript tradition and editions of the *Directorium*. The second chapter is concerned with Baldo and the manuscript tradition of his twenty-six fables. Chapter three deals with the fables of Raymond de Bezier with an analysis of the relationship between these fables and those of John of Capua. The essay ends with a table of correspondences. (See review by Leopold Delisle. " Notice sur les fables latines d'origine, indienne " *Journal des Savants*, 1893, 172.).

213. Hervieux, Léopold. 1899 (2nd edition; reprint 1965.). *Les Fabulists Latins depuis le siēcle d'Auguste jusqu'ā la fin du moyen āge.* 5 vols. Paris : Firmin Didot.

Vols 4 and 5 contain editions of Johannis de Capua's *Directorium humanae vitae, alias parabola antiquorum sapientum* and other European versions of the *Pañcatantra* materials. See Gaston Paris's very extensive review of this work in the *Journal des Savants* (April. 1899), 207-226.

214. Hilka, Alfons, 1917. *Eine bisher unbekannte lateinische Ùbersetzung der griechischen Version des Kalilabuchs (Stephanites kai Ichnelates).* [= Jahresberichte der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur]. Brelau. 95 pp.

215. Hilka, Alfons. 1928. *Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters.* I. Der novus Aesopus des Baldo. II. Eine lateinische Ūbersetzung der griechischen Version des Kalila-Buchs. Berlin: Weidmann.

Two essays on the Latin re-workings of the *Pañcatantra* and its derivative forms in Persian, Arabic and Greek. The first volume is in effect a new edition with its apparatus with variant readings from new fourteenth-century manuscript sources Hilka discovered in the Stadtsbibliothek Heiligenkreuz, which also contained seven new fables. Volume II is an edition of *Stephanites kai Ichnelates.*

216. Holland, Wilhelm Ludwig. 1960. *Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen: Nach Handschriften und Drucken herausgegeben.* (= Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, no. 56). Stuttgart.

217. Holmbee, C. A., trans. 1880. *Kalila og Dimna, en Raekke moralske og politiske Fabler.* Copenhagen : Christiania. xviii + 171 pp.

Danish translation from the Arabic.

218. Holmes, Henry Bert. 1935. " Vocabulario etimológico de Calila y Dimna. " Dissertation : Wisconsin.

219. Honeyman Mackie Alexander. 1936 " The Mission of Burzoe in the Arabic Kalilah and Dimnah. " Dissertation : University of Chicago.

220. Hooykaas, Christiaan. 1929. *Tantri : de Middle-Javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking.* Dissertation : University of Leiden.

A comparative study of the Old and the Middle Javanese versions of the *Pañcatantra*, noting the close similarity of adaptations of the *Pañcatantra* in Laos (Tantai), Thailand (Tantrai) to the Javanese (Tantri). No one of them, however, is influenced by another; all are derived from a now lost common source in which the *Kathāmukha* (Introductory story) similar to that found in all three.

221. Hookaas, Christiaan. 1931. *Tantri Kāmandaka : een Oudjavaansche Pañtjatantrabewerking, in tekst en vertaling.* (= Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 2.) Bandoeng, Java : A. C. Nix. 212 pp.

An edition and a translation into Dutch of the *Tandri Kāmandaka.*

222. Hottinger, Arnold. 1958. *Kalila und Dimna : Ein Versuch zur Darstellung der arabisch-altspanischen Übersetzungskunst.* (= Romanica Helvetica, no. 65) Bern : A. Francke. iii + 181 pp.

223. Houtsma, Martijin Theodor. 1906. "Eine metrische Bearbeitung des Buches Kalila wa-Dimna." *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke...... gewidmet.* Giessen/Leipzig. I, 91-96.

Discusses the second versification of Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic *Kalila wa-Dimna* made by Ibn al-Habbāriya entitled *Nata'idj al-Fitna fī Nazam Kalila wa-Dimna.* The author used the first verse version made by Abān al-Lāhiki, a contemporary of Ibn al Muqaffa, but his version is primarily based upon a copy of Ibn al-Muqaffa from around the year 1100. [The third verse version, entitled *Durr al-hikam fī anthāl al-hunūd wa'l-'adjam,* was made by 'Abd al-Mumin b. al-Husayn al-Saghānī in 1242]. This second versification is supposed to have been completed in ten days, and was published lithographically in Bombay in 1317.

See: Krymski, 1913.

224. Huilgog, Varadaraj. 1981. "The Pancatantra of Vasubhaga." *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 71 : 1-2, 38-47.

A summary of the author's dissertation in Kannada. Five versions of the *Pañcatantra* refer to the name of Vasubhāga, though none of these five is a complete text. Huilgog determines that the original of this version contains about 66 stories.

225. Hunger, Herbert. 1966. "Die Schildkröte im Himmel (*Stephanites und Ichnelates* I, 40)" *Wiener Studien* 79, 260-263.

On the Indian fable of a turtle holding into a stick with his mouth and carried into the air by friendly birds (Cf. La Fontaine X, 2 "La Tortue et les deux Canards" and contrast P230 "Turtle takes Lessons from

Eagle "). The fable is used rhetorically to describe the consequences of disregarding the helpful suggestions of one's friends.

226. Husayn, Ta-Ha, and 'Abd al-Wahhāab' Azzām. 1941. *Kitāb Kalila wa-Dimna : naqalahū mina l-fahlawiyya ' Abdullāh ibn al-Muqaffa '.* Cairo.

Edition based upon a very early manuscript (dated 1221) from Aya Sofya (Istanbul).

227. Husselmann, Elinor Mulliet. 1939. *A Fragment of Kalilah and Dimna from Ms 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.* (= Studies and Documents, no. 10.) London/Baltimore : Christophers. 35 pp. + 6 plates.

Three fragments from the *Kalila* and *Dimna* fable tradition are here identified as stemming from an incomplete model that had been enlarged upon by its translator. The manuscript, which Husselmann identifies as the Cryptoferratensis A33 from the tenth century (and which had disappeared from a monastery in the Grottoferrata in the early nineteenth century), varies so much from the tradition of the *Stephanites kai Ichnelates* that reconstruction is unlikely to be successful. Samples of the miniatures are appended.

228. Hutchins, Francis G., trans. 1985. *Animal Fables of India : Narayana's Hitopadesha or Friendly Counsel.* West Franklin, N. H. : Amarta Press.

English translation from the Peter Peterson Sanskrit edition of 1887, with a selection of notes reprinted from the very early English translation by Charles Wilkins (1787).

229. Hyart, Charles. 1944. *Les contes de l'Inde.* Brussels.

Contains many fables; introduction deals with the transmission of the materials in the *Pañcatantra* and its derivatives.

230. Ibrahin, Maj di Muhammad Shams al-Din. 1986. *Kalila bayna al-usul al-qadimah wa-al-muhakah al sharqiyah.* Al-Quhirah: Dar el Fikr a-'Arabi. 259 pp.

231. Ingalls, Daniel H. H. 1968. "Cāṇakya's Collection and Nārāyaṇa's *Hitopadesa.*" *JAOS* 86 : 1, 1-19.

A reassessment of the relationship between the Cāṇakya texts (collections of verse maxims intended to teach *nīti*) and the *Hitopadeśa,* in part a review of Ludwik Sternbach's edition of Cāṇakya texts (see Sternbach 1958 and Sternbach 1967). Suggests Nārāyaṇa borrowed Cāṇakya verses for the *Hitopadeśa*, the reverse of Sternbach's conclusion, at least in the oldest layer of borrowing. Nārāyaṇa is described as a Bengali and the *Hitopadeśa* was written in Eastern Bengal.

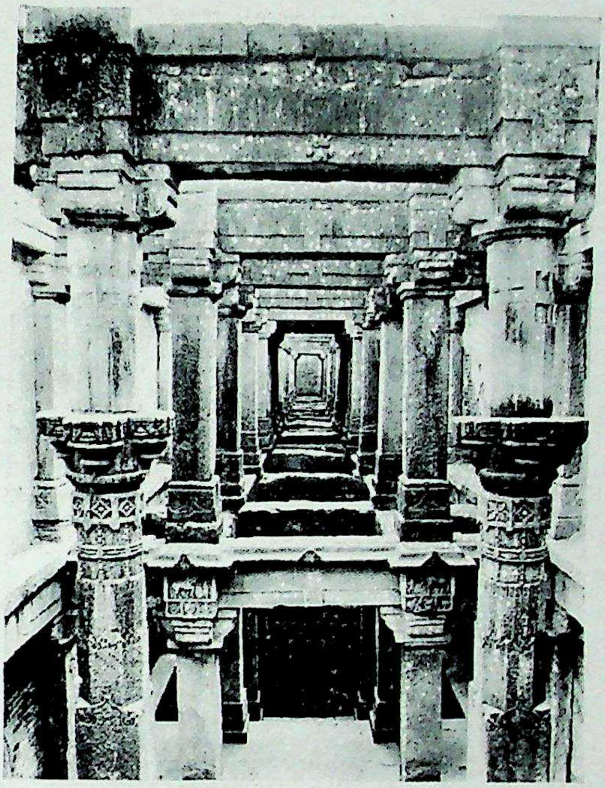

Fig. 2
(Refer to A. K. Singh's Article)

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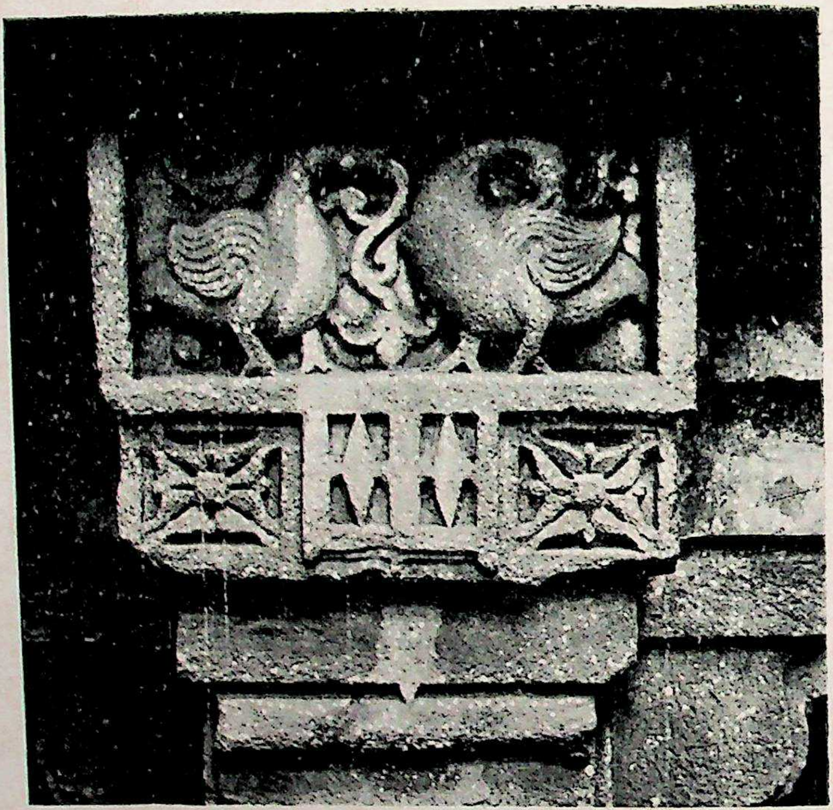

Fig. 9
(Refer to A. K. Singh's Article)

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